Vol. XVI. No. 61 March 1927

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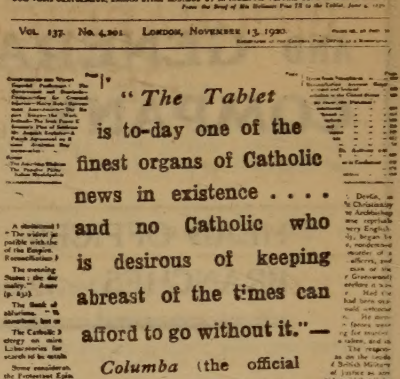
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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 31st day of January, 1927.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1926, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£51,840	11	6
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	21,168	3	4
	£73,008	14	10
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	31,250	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	7,500	0	0
To next Account	24,258	14	10
	£73,008	14	10

The Reserve Fund now stands at £610,000.

It is proposed that the remuneration of the Directors be increased from £2,500 to £3,100 per annum (free of income tax), as from 1st January, 1927, and a Resolution to that effect will be submitted to the Meeting.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY and MR. THOMAS LEVINS MOORE. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 10th January, 1927.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1926. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0
,, Reserve Fund	610,000	0	0
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	12,299,737	3	6
,, Sundry Agents	37,058	5	3
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	11,096	1	7
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £73,008 14 10			
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0			
	63,008	14	10
	£13,520,900	5	2

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	615,079	0	5
,, Investments, viz.:—			
War Loan and other British Government Stocks ...	5,023,578	11	1
Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	166,337	8	9
	5,804,995	0	3
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	7,492,191	2	6
,, Sundry Agents	31,052	3	6
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	192,661	18	11
	£13,520,900	5	2

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1926.

	£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	113,910	15	2
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0
,, Dividend to be paid in February, 1927, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ 31,250 0 0			
,, Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 24,258 14 10			
	63,008	14	10
	£186,919	10	0

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account ...	21,168	3	4
,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	165,751	6	8
	£186,919	10	0

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1926, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
DUBLIN, 10th January, 1927. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

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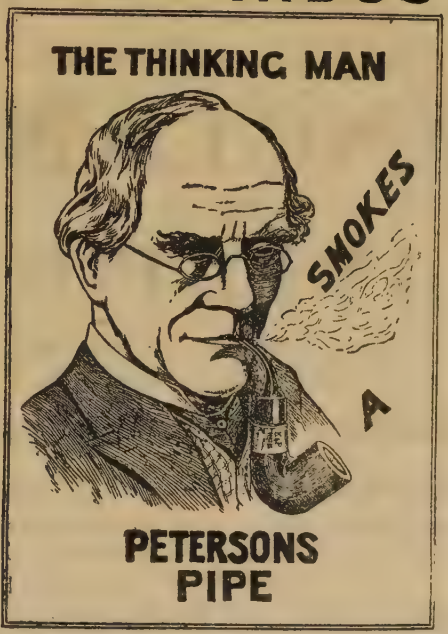

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VOL. XVI No. 61

STUDIES

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MARCH 1927

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THE REVIVAL OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A., T.D.

Member of the Gaeltacht Commission

THE historians who in days to come set out to measure the achievement of post-Treaty Ireland will use as their principal criterion its success or failure in the task of restoring the Irish language. Our Shannon schemes, sugar factories, and other efforts at reconstruction will bulk very small indeed in comparison to that task. If we succeed, it will be said of us that our freedom was after all worth the sacrifices men made to attain it, worth even the disunion, disillusionment and wreckage that followed in its wake. If we fail, it is not at all improbable that the discerning historian will write opposite the year 1940 or thereabouts, "*Finis Hiberniae*," even though the pallid ghost of an Irish State should still continue to haunt succeeding ages.

Our momentary cynicism is what chiefly prevents us in these days from seeing the matter in its true light, and from admiring and, as far as we may, assisting in the unique and magnificent effort now being made in our schools. Foreign observers at this moment very probably wonder at our apathy and apparent want of interest in the greatest and most inspiring spectacle of our day. True, the mass of the people are undoubtedly ranged behind the Government in its language policy by an instinct which has the same deep and secret strength that their instinct for political freedom has had since the Union. The more vocal elements in the community, however, and what I hope I may be pardoned for calling the *intelligentsia*, are largely dominated in this matter by two absolutely opposite forces : (1) a blind antagonism to the whole idea of even preserving the language, based on a complete ignorance, often wilful, of its national and cultural values ; and (2) an equally blind optimism,

which contentedly looks forward to an Irish-speaking Ireland brought about in twenty years by bureaucratic action, and is based on an equal ignorance of the vast forces even yet arrayed against the survival of the language in any sense worthy of the name.

It is hard to say which of these attitudes involves the greater danger and is the greater obstacle to ultimate success. Nothing is more necessary than that the forces striving for victory should have behind them not only the silent loyalty of the people, but a strong and educated nucleus of reasoned opinion, which realises its goal and has no delusions about the nature of the obstacles it must meet before that goal is reached. For reasoning men who understand the greatness of their cause, the glory of victory and the utter negation of defeat, difficulties are only to be feared when unseen; and the lack of an educated, active public opinion, which will strain every nerve because it knows its own weakness and its own strength, may even make the loyalty of the majority to its ideal a useless weapon that can never be brought into play though sorely needed.

For these reasons I would urge more attention on the part of educated Irishmen both to the consequences of success or failure in the national effort to restore the language and to the forces that may contribute to either, particularly the adverse forces. There is not nearly enough intelligent public discussion of these matters, not nearly enough realisation of the fact that upon this generation depends the cultural future of Ireland, not enough effort to call forth again that national will without whose co-operation complete success is doubtful, not enough understanding of the lessons that history and the experience of other nations have to teach us. Letter-writers to the Press deplore the danger that our children may be deprived of foreign culture, warn us even against the visionary fear that we may lose English, while ignoring the far greater danger that we may be

deprived of our own culture, and the instant fear that Irish may perish. Many of our Irish enthusiasts act on the assumption that the battle is won already, and that to point to the great obstacles still ahead of us is treason or defeatism, or may weaken our courage, as if blind deluded courage could win any battle, least of all a cultural one.

So much nonsense was talked about Gaelic culture a few years ago that now even enthusiasts are shy about mentioning it at all; and yet by far the greatest reason for reviving Irish is the fact that it was the vehicle of a highly civilised, aristocratic culture, classical in the true sense of the word, knowledge of which alone—its history, its medium of expression, its relation to the people, and its after-effects—would make a good substitute for much of our present cultural education, and would have the immense advantage that upon it could be based a really vital native culture in the future. At the present time only a few of our students of Irish study that culture, and hardly any of them in the only proper way, through the medium of the language which enshrines it. It has had great influence on English literature in Ireland, and has still, but the writer who seeks inspiration from it must approach it at second-hand, through the work in English of men like the O'Gradys and Dr. Sigerson, or else he must devote so much time to scholarly research as to have none for inspiration. We have no simplified and standardised texts of our mediaeval writers such as exist in the case of every other civilised language; no histories in Irish, hardly even in English, of Ireland herself, her literature, or her speech; not a single adequate grammar of modern Irish in any language. The Táin and other sagas have often been rendered into English and German, never adequately into modern Irish. We still have writers representing Irish history of the period contemporaneous with Merovingian Gaul or with the Thirty Years' War

as a history of unparalleled massacre and confusion. We have thousands of students of Irish, hundreds of expert writers in it; but no one seems to realise the lack of any presentation, in the modern language itself, of the great culture to which it has given expression, or the vital need for such a presentation.

"Language," says von Humboldt in a passage which justifies completely the contention that without Irish the Irish nation will cease to exist, "is the organ of our inner being, nay it is that being itself gradually attaining self-recognition and self-expression. It strikes all the finest fibres of its roots into the spiritual strength of the nation." "A language," says M. Meillet, the great linguist of the Sorbonne, "is of no value unless it be the organ of an original civilisation. That civilisation need not be widely extended; it suffices that it should have individuality." Before the revival movement can reach its full strength, we must add to the purely linguistic work of our primary schools the presentation in our higher schools and colleges, through the medium of modern Irish, of the highly original civilisation of which it was the organ while it was still dominant. The fact that this can be done is our strongest argument for the effort at revival. It can only be done adequately in the modern language, and by doing it thus we may establish direct continuity with our past and give new sap to the roots which still form no small part of our spititual strength as a nation. This is also the one way by which an informed, educated enthusiasm can be created as a badly-needed driving-force behind the work of the schools, ignorant cynicism be silenced, and the first object mentioned above be achieved.

I have said that we must, besides realising the goal we have set before us, realise also the obstacles in our way. I do not think we are yet conscious enough of the danger in which we stand, and am convinced that until we are so conscious we will not put forth our full

strength. Only a quarter of a million, out of a population of three millions, still have Irish as their ordinary language, and probably eighty per cent. of these are bilingual already and are more and more losing the habit of Gaelic speech. They are the poorest and least influential among the people, and yet they form the essential nucleus from which alone, in all human possibility, Gaelic speech can be extended to the rest of the country. The task of reviving a language in such a condition, with no large neighbouring population which speaks even a distantly related dialect, and with one of the great world-languages to contend against, is one that has never been accomplished anywhere. Analogies with Flemish, Czech, or the Baltic languages are all misleading, because the problem in their cases has been rather that of restoring a peasant language to cultivated use than that of reviving one which the majority had ceased to speak. Still less has it been proved possible to impose a language on a people as its ordinary speech by means of the school alone. The analogy with the case of English in Ireland is not sound, because English has had behind it the enormous influence of economic and social supremacy, not to speak of the Church, and the school has only completed the work. The habit of speech can only be changed over large populations by the most powerful agencies, and of these the agency which is under Government control—the school—is probably the weakest.

Thus on two grounds—decay, rapid, steady, and so far quite unchecked, in the Gaeltacht, and limited capacity of the school as an agency—the difficulty of making Irish the principal, not to say the sole language of Ireland, is sufficiently great to demand every effort that it may be overcome. And unless immediate and decisive steps be taken to preserve the Gaeltacht while there is yet time, the prospects of success after the lapse of the twenty-five years or so during which the

Gaeltacht will last under present conditions, will be bleak indeed.

These facts, which are undeniable, make it vitally necessary that every influence be at once mobilised to keep the language alive—and it can only be kept alive by an extension of its use as a spoken language. They make laughable the fears so often expressed that we may cut ourselves off from the great wide world by losing English. The boot is quite on the other foot. Even if English could be completely banished to-morrow, the danger that it would ultimately conquer again unless we were eternally vigilant, would be very great so long as England and America, not to speak of the other English-speaking nations, remain as they are. Those who claim to utter these fears from motives of pure patriotism may sleep in peace; or rather, it is time they woke up to the real danger. The loss with which we are threatened is far more serious from the national point of view, from any point of view pretending to humane culture, and far more poignant to the majority of Irishmen, whose ancestors, often down to their fathers and mothers, have expressed themselves in Irish speech for unnumbered generations. It is the loss we shall have suffered if our language does utterly perish, bringing with it into oblivion our whole vital tradition and our strongest claim to nationhood, and making the history of our nation into that of an Atlantis, dimly intelligible only to the very wise.

By putting forth every effort, preserving and making full use of the Gaeltacht as a reservoir from which to draw teachers of the living language, improving its economic, social, and educational conditions, and at the same time intensifying the already efficient work of the primary schools, we may within a short time accomplish two things: we may definitely stop the decay which, I must insist, is still going on, and we may secure that the generation now growing up will have a fair knowledge

of the language, with capacity to read, write, and speak it. The first object accomplished will itself mean a great victory, the passing of the first and hardest obstacle. The second will not involve any widespread immediate restoration of Irish *speech*. Very many people at present know Irish and do not speak it. The transition from knowledge to the habit of speech is the second step to be taken, a difficult one, which will require much more to assist it than school work, and can only come about with the aid of the most intense national enthusiasm and conscious effort, especially on the part of the educated. It can best be done if there is a concentration on making Irish the common language of the home, the nursery, the fields and the familiar things of intimate life. There is no doubt that this can be done given fair knowledge of the language and good will.

Side by side with it should go the intensive exploitation, in the universities and secondary schools, of Irish as a medium of approach to Irish literature and history and to every kind of knowledge pertaining to Ireland. This is a field in which, as I have said, I do not see nearly enough realisation of our needs as yet. By way of it, Irish, having been kept alive in the Gaeltacht and restored to use as a familiar home language, could conquer a third domain, to which it has strong claims, that of a new native literature. We have seen what the so-called "Irish Literary Renaissance" could do in English under the inspiration even of translations or, stranger still, of gibberish like "Coth yani me von gilli beg." There is no doubt whatever that a higher standard could be reached in Irish itself, given the preliminary steps outlined above—restoration as a home language and intensive cultivation of its great and unique literary content. This latter will involve, among other things, the study of the best models of previous Irish prose and the uniting of the lessons which can be got from it—lessons as yet strangely neglected—with those given by

Canon O'Leary, whose style, though masterly from a colloquial point of view, cannot pretend to be that of artistic prose, and whose creative power was largely negligible.

Thus, in spite of the difficulties, there is good prospect of soon reaching a bilingual stage in Ireland, with Irish as the language of the home and of literature, which must have its roots in the home and in common intimate life, and English as the language of science, a medium of instruction for certain purposes of higher education, and to a large degree the language of commerce. We shall not lose very much by divorcing our literature from English, except from the point of view of our writers' rewards, a very important matter where I think we must inevitably take measures to find a substitute, in our conditions, for the patronage of our mediaeval period and the mass-production methods of modern "universal" literatures. From the point of view of inspiration, we have everything to gain. English literature in Ireland has no inspiration except Irish and the life of the common man; and the English language in general is rapidly suffering the nemesis of standardisation and sterility which always affects "universal" languages, and is taking refuge therefrom in the incoherences of James Joyce, Gertrude Stein and such "moderns." So too in French and Italian; the French "regional" novelist with his patois is competing for and winning the *Prix Goncourt*, and the dialect is assuming its place in the Italian school. Everywhere the despised "minor" language is coming into its own as the vital medium for the expression of life just as it did in mediaeval Europe.

The universal languages still hold their place, however, as media for instruction in universal sciences, and here I think English will maintain its position in Ireland for a long time, if not for ever. The very last step in the restoration of Irish will be its application to universal sciences for purposes of higher education. This is a

point in which I emphatically disagree with those who hold that we must teach mathematics or physical sciences or Greek through Irish, or that before any progress can be made the Universities must be "Gaelicised." If we can soon succeed in having everything about Ireland taught through Irish at all stages, we shall have accomplished a heavy task enough without taking on in addition the irrelevant and truly Sisyphean toil of producing in Irish all the enormous mass of text-books and reference books that any true teaching of science will demand; not to speak of great difficulties of vocabulary, such as are illustrated by the fact that we have yet to find suitable modern Irish terms for such conceptions as the Latin *verbum imperfectum*, or that an organisation founded to provide suitable text-books can only find for itself the strange title "Gúm." The attempt to have all the work of higher schools and universities done through Irish at the present stage is visionary, and based on the kind of optimistic fallacy to which I have already adverted.

Perhaps in what I have said I have insisted too much on the dangers of over-optimism, and not enough on the ignorant pessimism which refuses to see that we have anything to gain by reviving Irish or to lose by its total extinction. Arguments against this type of stupidity are so numerous and have been so often reiterated that they have become almost platitudes. But to a great extent the type is invincible by argument, and its general tendency in recent years has been to form, as I have said, a focus of apathy against which only the most intense concentration on the cultural value of the language and the clearest exposition of its record as the language of a great civilisation can prevail. The children and the teachers are doing their part for the restoration of Irish speech. The student, and the person who is perhaps too old to acquire a new habit of speech, can do work that is equally important by going back to Irish liter-

ature and history, by investigating folk-lore, place-names, and local tradition, and the variety of subjects to which the language is the sole key and which have as yet been barely entered upon. A great struggle, which has lasted for centuries, must end one way or another in a few years. The danger is that our leaders of thought, divided between such optimism and such pessimism as I have tried to characterise, may sit by with folded hands while the Ministry of Education and the teachers fight a lonely battle, and that after-ages may wonder how it came to be decided without many of those whom it most vitally concerned knowing what it was about, or even that there was a battle at all. MICHAEL TIERNEY.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

No. 1.—BY GENERAL RICHARD MULCAHY, T.D.

Chairman of the Gaeltacht Commission.

I SAT one afternoon, in the summer of 1913 or 1914, under the little stairs beside the fire in Siobhan an tSagairt's cottage in Beal-atha-an-Ghaorthaigh, while Siobhan at the farther corner of the kitchen sat knitting socks and talking. Footsteps rattled over the cobblestones outside, and forthwith three figures crossed the threshold: John Fraser, a Scotchman, Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford; Dr. Joseph Loth, Professor of Celtic Languages in the University of Paris; and Dr. Osborn Bergin, Professor of Early Irish, University College, Dublin—the "Preserver ó Bhaile átha Cliath," as Siobhan used to call him. They had come to hear some of Siobhan's fund of story and verse. Professor Fraser was the only one who talked very much, in an Irish perhaps that lacked something to Siobhan's ear; the Frenchman hardly ventured a word; and Dr. Bergin made no serious intrusion into conversation. After a few stories the three visitors filed out the door again, and as the last of them stepped across the threshold, Siobhan bent towards me and in a vigorous undertone remarked: "Airiú is dócha, a Risteáird, go bhfuil an ghaoluinn aca san." The footsteps of the visitors rattled away over the cobblestones, their silent minds lingering, no doubt, in appreciation on the vigour and the delicacy and the stored lore of the language they had just listened to. As to Siobhan,

her three visitors and their Irish and their interest in Irish were an enigma to her, but they left her buoyed up and stimulated with a pride in her language, a pride in those things that linguistically and mentally were traditionally hers. A contribution had been made to the maintenance and revival of the language.

When I lay aside Professor Tierney's article, my mind irresistibly frames itself along the lines of Siobhan's doubting phrase—"I suppose Professor Tierney has some contribution to make to the revival of the Irish language"—but my hope is all cloudy, and there is no stir of stimulation in it. Professor Tierney is a pessimist. However he may attempt to cover it with words, the fact outs. He has not used the microscope sufficiently or purposely enough on the situation to get that strengthening of faith and hope and that direction which will only come from the use of the microscope; he feels that he should have a function in the work of the revival, but he has not yet found wherein that function lies. Something must be done, however, and he allows his pen to write about straining nerves and general intensiveness, while something in his whole being tells him, very quietly and calmly and unintensively, that straining nerves and intensiveness are not a factor in true or natural growth.

When Professor Tierney writes to the effect that, as a medium for instruction in universal sciences, the English language will maintain its position in Ireland for a long time, if not forever, and that the very last step in the restoration of Irish will be its application to universal sciences for purposes of higher education, he shows us, either that he has no belief in the Irish language as a medium for the expression of any Irish culture worth talking about, or that he has given very little study to how the human mind shapes language to its purposes. I suspect, however, that he rather just writes without linking his pen back to any solid ground of fact or thought.

At this stage in the language movement it is essential firmly to establish in the general national mind true answers to three questions:—

1. Does the living Irish language show in its structure that it contains elements giving clear promise of power to develop into a perfect medium for the expression of the highest as well as the ordinary forms of thought?
2. Have we, speaking the language traditionally, a people sufficient in numbers, and in promise of numbers, to form a sound organic basis in which the language can continue and be developed?

3. Do the people who, by reason of being traditional speakers of the language, form such an organic basis, possess the will to maintain the language ?

If we can answer these three questions in the affirmative, then the future of the language is secure. Personally, I would unhesitatingly answer affirmatively, but this is not what is wanted ; I simply here oppose my affirmatives to any negatives implied by Professor Tierney. What is wanted is a scientific examination of the facts, an examination that will give the answers in a firm, doubt-destroying way.

Towards such an examination, and as to the power of the language to develop, I wonder has Professor Tierney nothing to tell us as to how the Greek people brought their language, from its folk-lore stage at the time of Herodotus, to be not more perhaps than a century later, in the time of Aristotle, a most perfect instrument of the highest human thought. Will he tell us that modern Irish gives less promise to-day than folk Greek gave five hundred years B.C. ?

The Finnish language gives us an instance, in our own times, of a language in the folk-lore stage being developed into a cultivated modern language within a comparatively short space of time. Shortly after the war of 1808-9 Finland, from being subject to Sweden, entered into the position of being a separate State, subject to the Czar of Russia as its Grand Duke. The language of authority continued to be Swedish. Shortly after the change the idea began to develop that the Finnish language, which was the language of the vast majority of the people in the new State, should be raised to form the vehicle of its national culture based on its folk lore. It was, however, not until 1821 that the stage had been reached of suggesting that some subjects in certain schools should be taught in Finnish "next autumn." From the beginning, opposition was given to the use of the national language as a language of instruction in the schools for alleged practical reasons, viz., "the poverty of Finnish literature—and the fear that the very limited use of the Finnish language in subjects of higher civilisation meant a lowering of the standard of civilisation in general." As late as 1850 it was ordered that only writings on subjects aiming at "religious, edifying, or economic usefulness" were to be printed in the Finnish language. This latter censorship, however, soon became a dead letter ; the inertia of officials and of the educated appears to have been the greatest obstacle to be encountered. Reviewed from the beginning of the twentieth century, we are told that "the Finnish

language, which in the beginning of the last century was used only in religious and agricultural writings and in popular books of the simplest kind, was formed through the educational work into a language of culture in which we can present Homer, Sophocles, Molière and Shakespeare, as well as all kinds of modern fiction, (a language) which can be used as well in philosophy as in mathematics, in physics as well as in the science of law, and in philology." The State University and the Technical University are both bilingual. The extent to which the language is used in the University may be seen from the following figures which are for the year 1916 :—

Faculty	Number of Regular Professors lecturing in—			Total Number of Professors and Lecturers lecturing in—		
	Finnish	Swedish	Both Languages	Finnish	Swedish	Both Languages
Theology	3	—	1	7	1	1
Law	2	4	1	8	7	—
Medicine	?	?	?	4	16	15
History and Philology ...	7	5	5	36	18	9
Physics and Mathematics	2	5	2	6	17	3
Agriculture and Political Economy	1	—	4	9	—	7

Who will undertake to convince us that the spoken Irish of to-day gives less prospect of being effectively used for instruction in Mathematics, Physics, Philosophy, Theology, than the Finnish language of 1850 ?

In regard to our numbers we should note that in 1760, at the time of Lord Durham's report on the general position of the affairs of British North America, the French-Canadians numbered 60,000. At that time Lord Durham wrote of them : " The French-Canadians . . . . are but the remains of an ancient colonisation, and are and ever must be isolated in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon world . . . they can see no hope for their nationality . . . I know of no national distinctions marking and continuing a more hopeless inferiority. The language, the laws, the character of the North American Continent are English ; and every race, but the English (I apply this to those who speak the English Language) appears there in a condition of inferiority. . . . . It would appear that the great mass of the French-Canadians are doomed, in some measure, to occupy an inferior position and to be

dependent on the English for employment. The evils of poverty and dependence would be merely aggravated in a tenfold degree by a spirit of jealous and resentful nationality." That is, the French-Canadian was to "go with a vengeance." Yet, the 60,000 of 1760 are to-day 3,000,000 French-speaking Canadians.

In Ireland there are five different classes which must be regarded as having different potentialities and responsibilities in the matter of the language revival :—

1. We have, first, the people whose natural language is and has been Irish, who use it as their everyday language, and have not had it impaired by English; who have been spared the influence of the schools set up to oust the Irish language, and who have that full, vigorous, flexible language, rich with a literary tradition orally transmitted, and which has delighted by its peculiar charm all who have come in touch with it, whether scholar or non-scholar. This class is the living organic basis from which the language must be developed.
2. The second class are the children of Irish-speaking parents in the Irish-speaking and partly Irish-speaking districts, and where Irish is the language of instruction in the schools. These are the second part of the organic basis. They may be expected to lack in their language, for many reasons, some of that particular strength which comes from the orally transmitted literary tradition that their parents possess. They may be expected to possess, however, something which their parents lack, and which will come from the modern education given through the medium of Irish in their schools. They may even perhaps show something of what Lord Durham would call "a spirit of jealous and resentful nationality."

Without forcing the French-Canadian analogy of 1760 too strongly, the numbers of these two classes must be considered to give an organic base of adequate strength. In districts where 80 per cent. of the population can speak Irish there are to-day 71,440 Irish speakers of 26 years of age and upwards, and 75,381 under 26 years of age. In districts where from 25 to 80 per cent. of the population can speak Irish, 65,605 persons of 26 years of age and upwards are Irish speakers and 44,980 under 26 years of age.

3. The third class are the children of English-speaking parents in English-speaking districts, who are receiving

primary education under present-day conditions, and who, in varying degrees, depending on their particular schools and their proximity to the Irish-speaking districts, will in course of time be absorbed into the organic basis. The potentiality of this class towards such absorption will increase at an ever-accumulating rate during the next twenty years, according as teachers, teaching processes, and books improve.

4. The bulk of the fourth class comprise those adults who, standing for Irish Nationality, have learned the language. Their function must be that of propagandists, champions, defenders, enlightened and strengthened to this end by an appreciation of the intrinsic merits of the language as a language, as a literary medium, and as a fosterer of national feeling.
5. The fifth class are those who stand for Irish Nationality, and for the spread of the language as an essential feature of that nationality, but who because of circumstances have not and will not acquire it. Their function, too, must be that of champions.

The will of the people is behind the purpose of keeping and developing and spreading the language. Effective strength of will wants, however, a sphere of action. Only by teaching the people to recognise the particular class to which each belongs, and to accept the tasks incumbent on that class, can the will of the whole people be brought effectively into play. Given, however, this teaching, there can be little doubt that each of our five classes can be got to apply themselves to the work that is within their reach, and that a strong national bond of understanding will link them all. Then will the day be at hand when our people will not fear that they shall have to fall back on any language other than their own as a medium for instruction in universal sciences or for the expression of any part of the National Mind.

RISTEARD UA MAOLCHATHA.

NO. 2—REV. PROFESSOR PATRICK BROWNE, M.A., D.SC.

IRELAND has not won her freedom; but twenty-six counties of her territory have, at any rate, acquired governmental power to attempt the restoration of the Irish language. It is important for them to know the materials, human and linguistic, that are at their disposal, and to have general ideas as to what they ought to aim at.

Ireland's language and literature cannot by themselves constitute a complete apparatus of culture. They are like an ancient building, still serviceable, but partly incomplete and partly ruinous. And the building is worth restoring.

The chief cultural aid that the language needs is the influence of the Greek and Latin classics, to which may now be added the classics in other European languages which derive from the springs of the Renaissance. Those languages were awkward enough as media of cultivated expression before the study of Cicero and Virgil shaped and polished them. Irish, owing to intense, though insular, mediaeval cultivation, is not as awkward as they were, but it needs the same assistance.

Hence, far from being content to continue indefinitely the use of English in higher schools and in the university, we ought to aim at a stage when professors and students will translate the classics into Irish instead. Grammatical terminology is probably not more difficult than scientific; and there, at any rate, the difficulties are not insuperable. The question of providing text-books need not alarm us unduly. If the schools need them, their production will be a money-making concern. And some will be made without even a prospect of financial reward.

The same remarks apply to the modern languages of Europe, which have literatures now become classical.

And there is no reason to exclude science, mathematical and physical, and philosophy, from our final scholastic aim. The important ideas discussed in all these branches are a sort of *materia prima* of educated thought. And those who wrote of them professedly often did not in vain "strictly meditate the thankless Muse." There are Plato, Lucretius, Cicero, Dante, Pascal.

It is axiomatic that a man must be present in order to be shaved; and if the Irish language is to be cultivated, and its use extended, the supply of native speakers must not be allowed to fail. Irish could indeed be restored academically, as classical Latin was restored at the Renaissance; and it is a consolation to think of Erasmus and his compeers when one hears the bitter jibes of half-educated native writers about the Irish of learners. However, Renaissance Latin smells of the lamp—not an unpleasant smell to me—and so would Renaissance Irish; and we want the smell of fields and hills and sea as well.

Now it has become obvious that the Gaeltacht cannot support its population under present conditions. It leads a rapidly diminishing life with the aid of American money. All the

remedies now applied are only poor palliatives. There are two rational remedies—one problematic, the other sure; there seems at the moment no chance that either will be applied.

The first is on land. There is not enough fertile land in the Gaeltacht, and if colonies of Irish speakers were settled on good land elsewhere, there is a chance that they would continue Irish-speaking and increase and multiply. There is a good chance the other way too; but might it not be better to try the experiment than let them drift annually in thousands to America?

The second is on water. It entails on the government the obvious duty of protecting our sea fisheries from foreign depredation; and the less obvious one of equipping the native fishermen, mostly Irish speakers. At present they mostly have no capital, they mostly have defective boats and gear, they are limited for a market to a few buyers in the nearest town. This is not the place to work out the details, but the remedy could be an effective one. Life in the Gaeltacht would continue and flourish if money could be made from the sea, as it was in former days.

Lastly, concerning support in the country. It will probably be forthcoming. People who know their Ireland may be pardoned for thinking that the opposition might have been worse, if the Protestant Church had not flung itself officially into the forefront of it.

P. Browne.

No. 3.—by professor osborn bergin, d.litt.

One of our leaders, who looks forward to the salvation of Ireland rather through cows and chickens than through speech and culture, tells me that he takes comfort from an old pronouncement of mine—"No language has ever been revived, and no language ever will be revived." If I ever said that, I must have used the word "revive" in its literal sense, for obviously no language that has ceased to be spoken has once more become the medium of social intercourse, and it is not easy to conceive such an event taking place in the future. However, Professor Tierney is justified in treating of a revival in the ordinary sense. The patient is still sinking, but while there is life there is hope.

To comment adequately on the above paper one would need to possess the gift of prophecy. Lacking that, one can see that the revival movement has not so far had the success hoped for. It has added a new interest to the lives of thousands, it has

blown away the stale atmosphere of dreary politics, and it has changed the national outlook. But these are by-products, and if the language movement should fail, the other movements stimulated by it may collapse.

Perhaps even the report of the Gaeltacht Commission tends to minimise the danger. In the map they have published the Irish-speaking districts are small indeed, and consist largely of mountain land, sparsely inhabited. In one such district the town of Dingle is a mere speck, yet in one untidy street of that town there are more English speakers than there are Irish speakers in many square miles outside it.

I agree with Professor Tierney that too much has been expected of the schools. He does not mention that the enormous prestige of English, in social, economic and political life, which was with the old schools, is now working against the new schools. No doubt the Government is sympathetically disposed towards the native language, but its own essential work is of necessity carried on through the medium of English. Still I have noticed that in Irish-speaking districts ability to speak Irish is no longer felt as a mark of inferiority, and that is something to the good.

Professor Tierney is right, too, in insisting that it is not yet possible to carry on higher education without using English. Our scientific experts do not know Irish, and even if we had a board of translators learned in the special subjects and equipped with the requisite technical vocabulary, there would be questions of copyright, and as for the cost—the publishers' bills for producing text-books in three dialects would run to millions. Even then the average student would have to buy an English text-book as well. Five years ago I gave a course of lectures in Irish on Irish syntax. I started with about thirty students; before the last lecture more than two-thirds had dropped off. Perhaps they did not know the language well enough to follow the course; perhaps I used the wrong dialect and the wrong technical terms. At all events these who most needed instruction learned just nothing at all. If this is so in dealing with the language itself, what of the essential subjects which must be taught whatever medium is used?

According to Professor Tierney, we have hundreds of expert writers in Irish. I have not heard of twenty to whom the term could properly be applied. And I disagree with the statement that Canon O'Leary's style "cannot pretend to be that of artistic prose." While Canon O'Leary set himself deliberately to bring into his writings the idiomatic vigour of the spoken language,

he could do much more ; witness his rendering of *Imitatio Christi*. His greatest work, *Séadna*, a storehouse of colloquial idiom, contains passages, such as the description of the fairy music, which are artistic prose of a high order. But one need not stop at the writers of the last generation. I should like to see all who have reached the standard of a secondary school able to appreciate the language and style of O'Donnell, MacAingil and Keating ; and University students ought to study the poetry of the last five centuries. As it is, too many have graduated without learning to read even an eighteenth century lyric.

But great writers are of secondary importance for modern spoken languages. To nine out of ten men and women the newspaper is what matters, and of those who read books not one in ten opens a classic. Professor Tierney is familiar with the lofty speculations of Plato, but when he is addressing his constituents does he think of the arguments and discussions in the *Republic* or the *Laws* ? Anyway, there is no Plato in Gaelic literature. The finest parts of it are the romantic tale and the short lyric. The aristocratic culture of which Professor Tierney speaks came to an end three hundred years ago, when Ireland was still in the Middle Ages, having for good or evil escaped the Renaissance. It is, therefore, an old-world medieval culture, and that is the charm of it to the scholar. But in some ways it is like folk-lore, which can be studied with delight, but cannot live in the modern world. I remember a young man in the Gaeltacht saying to me many years ago : " I'd learn to read Irish if there was anything to read in it except the Divil in a bag." A year later he was in America, where I understand the Devil is free from such fanciful restraint.

Without giving way to undue optimism or pessimism, what are we to do ? Make Irish the home language ? Well and good ; but for most city dwellers that is not possible. Only a few can manage to visit the Gaeltacht and talk Irish for a few weeks in summer. For the rest Professor Tierney is eloquent, but vague. " Strain every nerve," says the politician, but the result " at no distant date " is likely to be merely dislocation. Nearly thirty years ago Gaelic Leaguers, with everything against them, expected to see a Gaelic-speaking Ireland in ten years. To-day the people leave the problem to the Government, the Government leaves it to the Department of Education, the Department of Education to the teachers, and the teachers to the school-children. Only the very young are unable to shift the burden to someone else's shoulders, so perhaps they will learn to carry it, and save our faces. After all, infants before the age of reason can do

marvels with language, so they may not notice the weight. As the poet says, *Ní truimide colann ciall.*

OSBORN BERGIN.

No. 4.—PROFESSOR LIAM O BRIAIN, M.A.

IN spite of all that has been done since the establishment of the Free State, we have hardly yet really begun the restoration of Irish. But we can say that the long years of heart-breaking labour in darkness are over, and that the dawn is at hand of a long day wherein fruitful work will be accomplished. That much of the present efforts are wasted can hardly be denied; that a strong reaction against nationalistic idealism has taken place, that fatigue and slackness have seized many former enthusiasts is patent to all. It is only when this mental condition passes away and when we recover the youthful freshness that characterised all Gaelic League and Volunteer enterprises in the glorious years, that a really forward move will be made and that the edifice will begin rapidly to arise on the foundations now being broadly laid by the men of the Ministry of Education—all honour to them.

Whether the recovery of that spirit will depend on another explosion or not, I would rather not say. I am inclined to think it will. We seem to go forward always by a series of explosions. But there is none on the horizon at present.

The language revival movement is and always has been highly political, the most extremist and separatist of all Irish movements. Professor Tierney has overlooked that aspect of it. The intense period of Gaelic League activity from 1900 to 1912, so pregnant of profound and startling happenings in Irish affairs, was carried on by men who had the same—for those times—fanatical and lunatic mentality as men who could join the I.R.B. and solemnly profess belief in the doctrine of physical force. We must have that class and that mentality in the future as in the past.

The great problem of the moment is the Gaeltacht. The whole country is agreed that the economic situation in these districts must be changed radically for the better. Few people realise that this economic revolution will be accompanied by a big linguistic problem. Hitherto economic improvement has meant the development of the English-speaking habit. West of us here in Galway we have a belt of about forty miles along the coast which is living on the rocks and is quite solidly Irish-speaking. East of us are

large areas containing a great many Irish speakers; but where holdings have been increased and conditions improved English has become the dominant language, more or less, in the past twenty-five or thirty years. The improvements led the people into more contact with the rest of the country, into politics, into reading the paper, and example did the rest. The linguistic problem in the western area is to prevent the economic improvement there bringing about a similar result.

Is it possible? Does the language, at present quite adequate and adapted to their traditional style of living, possess sufficient vitality and assimilative power to fit itself to a new life? Will the outside forces, the dead weight and example of English-speaking officialdom and, what is more important, of clerical administration, be weaker in the future than in the past? To both of these questions I am optimistic enough to answer, yes. The first is a matter of spreading education in Irish, of making a knowledge of reading and writing common among our Irish-speaking communities, and of introducing them to official Irish. It will be all to the good of the latter. The answer to the second question depends, first and foremost, as Mr. Tierney truly says, on the realisation by our intelligentsia of the greatness of the cause; secondly, on measures something like those recommended in the Gaeltacht Commission's report, both in Church and State.

But administration in Irish in the Gaeltacht will require constructive efforts, which have not yet been inaugurated. To turn out officials, clerical or lay, "competent to transact the business through the medium of Irish," as the advertisement runs, implies higher institutes, universities if you like, forming that competence and giving training in such transacting. I join issue with Mr. Tierney when he seems to confine teaching through Irish to "everything pertaining to Ireland." I agree with him that higher scientific work, research and so on may well be left to the international languages. But I believe the proposal to teach through Irish a certain amount of mathematics, history, commerce, literature (and philosophy, if possible), up to an undergraduate standard at least, is sound. The whole idea is to fashion educated men accustomed to applying their minds in Irish, if I may use the expression, to the everyday problems of ordinary life and business. To put it in another way, our universities ought to do in Irish for students who are going to be civil servants, local officials, organisers and instructors what they do now for, let us say, law students in their classrooms and debating societies—the training of them in the application of the English language to their business.

The present period is, to me, rather a period of lull during which the decay is still going on, but also foundations are being laid and preparations made for the progressive offensive that is going to come. For this formative period Mr. Tierney makes some wholly admirable suggestions. I agree with him altogether as to the necessity for a greater diffusion of classical Irish and for the modernisation of the great old texts. Nearly all the editing done previous to the formation of the Irish Texts Society needs to be re-done, and I should like to see a new series issued, as cheaply as possible, of all the classical Irish published during the nineteenth century. And think of the great mass of old and middle-Irish literature buried in inaccessible publications, in French and German journals, utterly unheard of by the great mass of high-pressure learners of to-day! A selection of them, with modern versions following the original as closely as may be, would effect something.

The reactions of such a diffusion in other directions would be immense. It is an essential preliminary to two pressing problems —terminology and the acquiring of a literary standard. These will take time, but a matter which is a nuisance and which could and ought to be settled now by reasonableness and good sense is the question of a uniform spelling.

It is worth considering whether the government staff of Irish translators could not be used more profitably than at present. I think they could. I should like to see the Ministry of Education issuing a high-class illustrated magazine in Irish, dealing with scientific, literary, historical and general questions of the day and distributing it practically free. I used to receive for some years a wholly admirable review of this type published by the education department of Mexico.

I know very well that these things would cost money, and plenty of it. But I hold that it is at least worth considering whether the necessary expenditure could not be well spared from other items on the language bill. We are engaged at present at mass-production. Is not the formation of an élite rather the need of the hour?

Liam O Briain.

THE MEXICAN CRISIS: ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

BY MICHAEL KENNY, S.J.

IN order to understand the present religious crisis in Mexico a brief summary of the salient facts since 1857 is necessary. The Constitution of that year confirmed all previous infringements of religious rights and abolished all that were left, outlawing the Church itself as a juridic entity; and the laws of Juarez, 1859-1871, gave that instrument exhaustive statutory effect. Under Articles 5 and 27, which abolish monastic orders and the right of religious institutions and ministers to acquire property or the revenues therefrom, Juarez had laws enacted for the perpetual suppression of all religious orders, novitiates, confraternities and sisterhoods, confiscating to the State even "all books, printed or manuscript, paintings, antiques, and other articles belonging to the suppressed communities." Wearing the religious habit or living secretly in community was made a criminal offence; all hospitals, asylums, houses of correction and charitable institutions were secularized; legacies to ministers and even to their domestics or "relations to the fourth degree" were made null and void; "ministers of any form of religion cannot act as directors, administrators or patrons of private charity." All churches and ecclesiastical residences and appurtenances were declared state property, and their use was permitted only in accord with state regulations; "no religious rite shall take place outside of the church buildings anywhere in the republic, including cemeteries, vaults and crypts, which no clerics shall enter." The laws of 1859 made marriage a civil contract and nullified all marriages not so contracted, the State alone deter-

mining validity, nullity, divorce and all other marriage questions. Not only was the Church forbidden to teach, but all religious instruction in public institutions was prohibited, and the name of God was eliminated from oaths and other civil formalities and from instruments of public instruction. A study of this cumulative and exhaustive system of persecution seems to justify the claim of Calles that he is but executing the laws he had found already enacted. The most despotic persecutor can go no lengths for which the Juarez system will not find him warrant.

This orgy of penal laws was hampered in execution by similar orgies of revolt and strife, assassination, confiscation and universal anarchy. Neither Jaurez (1858-1872) nor Lejada (1872-1877) ever held undisputed sway outside the capital, and priests continued to function where and how they could, risking and often suffering exile, imprisonment and death. The first and only President of Mexico to extend his authority over the whole nation was Porfirio Diaz (1877-1880 and 1884-1911). Having seized the capital and the presidency in the usual fashion after years of sanguinary war with the Juaristas, Diaz proceeded to extinguish brigandage, to establish peace and financial stability, and to interrupt the anti-clerical policy of priest-baiting and church-robbery. He did not repeal the Juarez laws ; but he knew how to prevent or temper their incidence and thus allow the harried Church, stripped of all but her inherent spiritual power, to function ever so quietly and lead an underground life unmolested. She was still a mere slave, but a slave protected against notable abuse.

Making the best of this constructive toleration, the Church gradually re-established her places of worship and opened some 2,000 schools and institutions among the Indian population, often where she had suffered a dozen confiscations ; and she re-established and re-organized her seminaries. From the priestly training

and the apostolic labors of that period was begotten the marvellous heroism of faith and loyalty displayed by priests and people in the present crisis. At the end of the Diaz period some 2,000 free schools and colleges and practically all the rural schools (the state system seldom extended beyond the cities), together with all the hospitals and numerous benevolent institutions, were maintained, and maintained free, by clergy and sisterhoods entirely dependent on the charity of the faithful. This disposes of the two main charges brought against the Mexican Church: (1) that she has amassed immense riches; (2) that she has kept the people in ignorance.

Diaz's arbitrary rule of three decades was legitimized by the general assent. Holding down the restive and hungry factions with a strong hand and occasional scraps, he stabilized finance and promoted industry and commerce by the aid of foreign investors, chiefly from the United States, whose experience and enterprise he welcomed and facilitated. It was Americans who built up the Mexican railroad mileage from a few hundred to 15,000 miles, opened and re-opened mines, established manufactures and controlled or owned the most productive industries and much of the best land. Their success, while adding vastly to the country's wealth and general prosperity, begot native jealousy of the progressive "Gringoes," which was fanned by envious American exploiters who had failed to secure concessions. This was accentuated about 1910 when the importance of petroleum and the inexhaustible riches of Mexico's oilfields were realized. Then two small factions hostile to Diaz, powerfully supported by the Masonic and Evangelistic elements intolerant of his tolerance, filled the American press with the infamies of Diaz absolutism and opened a revolution on the border with American arms. Had the American Government exercised half the energy it displayed in arresting like movements against Obregon and Calles, the Madero–Magon operations could not have

even started. Diaz saw clearly the American writing on the wall, and he resigned in favor of Madero.

Madero, an educated but ill-balanced idealist, antagonized the self-seekers who had used him as a figurehead. He would give them industrial justice when they wanted spoil and, what they least desired, a free democracy by honest elections. This prospect, the first of the kind in Mexico, stirred the Catholic Union to activity, and it soon became evident that with a free vote and a fair count they would sweep the elections, federal and state. Such an outcome would be alike disastrous to the Masonic radicals, the Protestant evangelists, the Crom[1] or I. W. W. Communists and bandits, the concessionist adventurers and petroleum profiteers; and so another revolution started in the north with American arms and munitions. There is a persistent report from well informed quarters that Diaz alienated the Washington Administration by refusal to lease them Magdalena Bay, a fine harbour well suited for a naval base in Mexican California, which Japan is also said to covet, and that it was Madero's failure to ratify the promise of this lease that transferred American support to his motley opponents.

An unlooked for event foiled their plans for the moment. Felix Diaz, nephew of Porfirio, landed in Vera Cruz with European munitions and triumphantly entered the capital, the Porfirian soldiers flocking to his standard. To prevent useless butchery, General Huerta, whose strength had maintained the government thus far, made terms whereby Madero surrendered and Huerta became provisional President. An Indian like Diaz, he proceeded to govern with such firmness and justice and general satisfaction that his government was soon recognized by England and Germany, and United States recognition, recommended by her Ambassador and Consuls, was deferred only in view of the approaching inauguration

[1] The Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers, initialed C.R.O.M. and commonly called Crom, is the Mexican counterpart of the American I.W.W. (International Workers of the World).

of a new executive. The new President, Woodrow Wilson, assumed a diametrically opposite policy; whence issued the orgy of anarchy and persecution that has culminated in the decrees of Calles and the present crisis.

For the first time in Republican Mexico the President opened Congress in the name of God and urged it to pray, and so to legislate that God's law and peace should reign. The people applauded, but the picked Masonic Congress was hostile, and a deputation of Mexican and American Masons made the formal proposal to Huerta that on his pledge to accept their program they would secure him election and United States recognition. Huerta bluntly refused the Masonic pledge, saying that a Catholic he would live and die. Soon a revolt began to form in the north, and Carranza, its figurehead, was assured of United States support by deputed representatives of the American Scottish Rites, whose Supreme Grand Master had just pledged to Messrs. Wilson and Bryan the services of World Masonry for their arbitral peace plans.

Thereafter the government's Mexican policies followed Masonic lines. Ambassador Wilson, who with his consular colleagues had insisted that the Huerta government insured stability and the Carranza-Villa bandits anarchy, was recalled; and so was his successor who similarly advised. They were replaced by Masonic consuls and emissaries, who associated and co-operated with as vile a set of bandits as ever raped and pillaged in the name of a republic. While the Carranza-Villa ruffiandom were desecrating altars and sanctuaries and robbing whatever religious properties were left, expelling and even violating the sisterhoods, torturing and holding priests for heavy ransom or death, and frequently for both, President Wilson raised the arms embargo in their favor and, when they still made little headway, seized Vera Cruz (April 10, 1914), the only channel for federal supplies, and so by armed intervention hoisted Carranza and his spoilsmen into power.

That their previous and subsequent outrages were worse and more numerous than Cardinal Gibbons and the protesting Catholic societies represented and were known to the Government, is revealed in a bulky volume just issued by the present administration, recording the United States-Mexico official relations of 1914. It includes replies of President Wilson to Cardinal Gibbons admitting the extent and enormity of the crimes against life, liberty and religion, and deploring the inefficacy of his efforts to prevent them. His efforts to keep their perpetrators in power knew no such inefficacy. So eager was he therefor that according to his closest confidant, Colonel House, he induced Congress to reverse their position and his on the Panama Tolls in order that England, whose ambassador, Sir Lionel Carden, had secured her support of Huerta, might in return disown both Carden and Huerta and thus permit him a free hand. It so happened ; and though pillage and outrage and internecine strife became ever more rampant, he recognised the Carranza government, even with its 1917 Constitution before him, an instrument as comprehensively destructive of religious liberty and human rights as the Penal Laws of Ireland.

This policy did not end with President Wilson. When the robbers split over the spoils, and Obregon, usurper of the Yaqui tribal lands and chief drafter of the 1917 Constitution, had in 1920 displaced and executed Carranza, he was recognised in due course by President Coolidge, though Mr. Wilson had charged the alleged murder of Madera against Huerta as a diriment impediment. As Obregon had revolted in 1920 because Carranza had picked another to succeed him, so in 1924 his chief minister, de la Huerta, revolted against him when he declared Calles his heir, and was having like success until word that the United States had supplied munitions to the Obregon troops and freedom of transit through its territory turned his victorious march into flight for his life beyond the borders. The previous recognition of Obregon and this

saving intervention, which secured the succession of Calles, was effected through what has been styled "diplomacy in oil."

From 1914 to 1920 the Wilson policies and intermediaries had, in return for concessions to favored interests, permitted or condoned innumerable outrages on the life and property of American citizens, and the Republican Party had made this "shame to the United States," this "disgrace to our civilization," an issue in the 1920 presidential campaign. Accordingly the Committee on Foreign Relations sent a Sub-Committee to investigate and report. This representative and competent body found the key of the situation in the Querétaro Constitution of 1917 and in the still ruling clique who had devised it. It was the work of Obregon and Calles, and when some few of the hand-picked delegates objected to its wildest provisions, they were silenced by pistol shots. It has been argued that this Constitution, with the Calles supplement, and the acts thereunder are all void inasmuch as the members were not elected, the instrument was not approved by the majority of States, and both Obregon and Calles as rebel leaders were ineligible to the presidency. But all these bars would equally void the code and laws of Juarez and all Mexican presidencies, if we except the later validation of Diaz. Their only validity was violence, and the only essential difference lies in the present more ruthless enforcement of the worst Juarez iniquities, of which the Calles compilation is the logical derivative. The 1917 anti-religious articles and the Calles decrees[1] only extend the drastic confiscations and prohibitions of 1857 by depriving of juridic personality every minister and religious and, in some respects, every member of the Church. Stripping its personnel of citizenship and ownership, and debarring violators and even critics of its provisions from jury trial and process of law, the

[1] Published in STUDIES, September, 1926.

Calles completion of the 1857 and 1917 Constitutions rounds out a system more effectively contrived to uproot religion forever than even that code pronounced by Burke the masterpiece of perverted ingenuity.

But it has other and wider restrictions, specifically communistic, that more directly concerned the American Committee. Article 27 vests in the State the ownership of all lands and the determination of the maximum area it shall lease to individuals; makes all previous contracts and ownership null and void; prescribes that all mines, oil wells and other interests and enterprises shall be operated by natives only; and that foreigners can retain or acquire property only by naturalization or by sworn renunciation of the right of recourse to their home government for redress. In effect the two sets of articles mean, first, that the Catholic Church shall not function nor foreigners exercise its ministry; second, that the State may filch and apportion all property at will, including some billion dollars worth under American title, and bar foreigners from further acquisition.

The American Committee in a voluminous report recommended a new treaty removing the Constitution's discriminations against American rights, or, in lieu thereof, occupation of Mexican ports by U. S. Marines. It would condition recognition on definite stipulations that Americans shall be free to enter, reside, teach, preach, and hold church property in Mexico provided they take no part in its politics, and that all retroactive or other laws barring foreigners from ownership shall not apply to Americans. In brief, the Committee advised that the Mexican Government should not be admitted to friendly relations until it had guaranteed such exercise of all fundamental rights as is the wont of civilized peoples.

In 1921 the Harding administration took up the question, and therewith the Mexican politicians and certain American companies also became active. The oil magnates, who gave thought solely to their money

interests, went down to Mexico and made arrangements with Obregon and Calles whereby their National Petroleum Oil Company should hold a 51 per cent. and Mexico a 49 per cent. interest in all oil reserves, and in return the Mexican Government would receive a $5,000,000 bonus, generous assistance in flotation of loans, and American recognition. This last was more difficult in view of the Foreign Relations Committee's Report, which weighed other things than oil ; but a cabinet minister, who was later dismissed and put under indictment on oil charges, facilitated matters. Two commissioners friendly to oil were despatched to Mexico, and on their report of Obregon's commercial concessions and promises contrary to his Constitution President Coolidge granted recognition September 23, 1923. When soon after Obregon was hard pressed by de la Huerta, it was his American oil beneficiaries who secured him Washington's saving intervention.

He had convinced them that the Constitution's prohibitions would not affect their interests, that in fact he had not enforced its religious nor property restrictions, and that he had a convenient judiciary to interpret them. This was plausible then ; but when Calles was counted into the presidency, the true inwardness of Mexican diplomacy became revealed. Constitutionally ineligible on the triple ground that he is the son of a foreigner, had shared in the previous revolution, and was not elected, Calles boldly re-asserted his notorious Bolshevik pronouncements, proclaimed immediate enforcement of the anti-religious and confiscatory provisions of the Constitution, and had his judges to reverse their reversal of the clauses regarding the petroleum concessions. Now that he had secured American recognition and the money grants of the oil companies, he felt safe in cancelling his commitments therefor, and for three substantial reasons.

He had secured the affiliation of the Communist

Crom, his personal political faction, with the American Federation of Labor. When Calles's plan of confiscating private properties for the benefit of his following was personally presented to Mr. Gompers, the then president of the Federation, as the charter of restoration of lands and rights to the defrauded peon workers, he accepted it as such, and by his influence secured for Calles and his party the support of perhaps the most powerful organization in America.

As a Mason Mr. Gompers also rendered aid, and claimed that in that character he secured Mexican recognition. But Calles himself as a 33rd degree Mason and recipient of a Medal from American Masonry, both rare Masonic distinctions, was backed openly by the U. S. Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite, and could thus count with confidence on the three million voting Masons of the United States.

By assuring the Protestant proselytisers in Mexico of immunity from his anti-religious decrees, Calles won the enthusiastic support of the Baptist and Methodist and Protestant Alliance leagues, whose political activity had imposed Prohibition on the nation and has long been dominating Congress and Senate. Moreover, he could reckon on the virulence of the pervasive Ku Klux Klan and on the general Protestant prejudice which, because restrained at home by the American Constitution, would be more readily enlisted for anti-Catholic movements abroad; and his consular and special agencies had everywhere established centres of lying progaganda to utilize and unify the forces of American bigotry. He had also noted that the Catholic attempts to stem the Wilson intervention in favor of his gang had been weak and ineffectual, and his personal experience had convinced him that the Mexican clergy would suffer whatsoever outrages meekly, for he and his kind had seen to it that suffering was the badge of all their tribe.

Hence Calles continued recklessly the expulsion of

foreign as well as native priests and religious (including the papal delegates Mgr. Crespi and Archbishop Caruana, an American citizen), completed the suppression of religious institutions, and extended nation-wide confiscation and spoliation with accompaniments of murder, desecration and other crimes and brutalities too numerous or indecent for narration. There was general, if chiefly passive resistance; and the more effectually to crush it, he issued (June 14, 1926) his supplementary decrees, so clamping down the 1917 Constitution that no religious institution may exist; that within the church no priest may function except in the manner, measure, times, places and numbers the state prescribes; that without the church there may be no religious teaching nor service by lay or cleric, family or group, of any kind anywhere; that the federal, state and municipal officials shall impose, without jury or trial, the drastic penalties prescribed for violations and, failing so to do or to report infractions, shall themselves be subject to like fines and imprisonments with forfeiture of office.

Then something new happened in Mexico. Bishop Manriquez y Zarate of Huejutla issued in March, 1926 a memorable pastoral of a quality unwonted in Mexican allocutions. It proved a trumpet call to all Mexico and beyond. Entered in the Congressional Record by Congressman Gallivan it has reached every quarter of the States through government mail, and by its virile sincerity has counteracted the Calles propaganda. Painting vividly the outrages on human rights as on religion that this new and more ruthless Jacobinism inflicts and the suicide which the Church's submission to State license for every act of ministry and worship would effectuate, he summons priests and people to wield the sword of thought and opinion, and to defend their rights against this fury of outrage on their manhood as on their faith.

To their failure therein he traces the source of their

calamities. Not only was the charge that they had played politics a lie, but it was their criminal omission to take part in fundamental politics, in those principles and problems of government on which depend the peace and welfare of peoples, that had brought down on them God's anger, of which their persecutors are but the instruments. Let them repair the omission; assert their citizenship; resist the destroyers of human right; stand steadfast before the wolf; be martyrs, if need be, for faith and freedom; go boldly to prison and to death. Let pastors set an example of sacrifice to their flock. If churches are closed, make every home a sanctuary. If one school is seized, open another, and hold school under tents and trees if roofs be barred. By sacrifice of pleasure, by Christian virility, let young and old fight God's battle; and never yield nor falter till every manacle of religious, educational and civic freedom is struck from Constitution and law. Thus will God lift His chastisement for their culpable suffrance of wrong and bring them from the catacombs to the sun of liberty.

This brave prelate's arrest and imprisonment, with cruel indignities that still continue, seem to have burnt his appeal into the heart of Mexico. Declaring acceptance of the Calles decrees apostasy, the Bishops of Mexico not only ordered suspension of Church service from the date of their enforcement but directed the faithful on the lines of Bishop Manriquez' appeal. Their wonderful manifestation of faith on the closing days of service and their monster petitions against the laws held no alarms for Calles; they rather deepened his reliance on Protestant prejudice, which this striking Catholic manifestation would further enkindle. In fact, his propagandists and Protestant alliance sympathizers still utilize this as an argument that United States action against Calles would be intervention in a merely religious conflict.

But another Mexican manifestation did gravely alarm them. The existing lay societies became active

and, having welded the young men and women of all Mexico into a well knit League of Religious Liberty, proclaimed a boycott against buying. Calles's governing agencies, particularly his Red army of the Crom, had been kept in hand by heavy payments and perquisites drawn mainly from taxation on every industry and article of commerce. Hence business was at its nadir, and a further slump in sales would be a severe blow to his power. It would also put the Religious Liberty League to a severe test; but they met it unflinchingly. Harmonizing with the Bishop's appeal for sacrifice, the boycott became, and after six months remains, astonishingly effective. All luxuries in food, clothing, amusement and travel were banned, and co-ordinated leaders were assigned to every state, district, city, street and square to make and keep this self-denying ordinance complete and universal. The resultant fall in revenues, as vouched in U. S. reports, averaged more than 50 per cent.; profits from railways and government-owned industries were turned into loss; general business has become paralysed; the exchange value of the peso is next to nil; and the government is so bankrupt that it has failed to meet the interest on its home and foreign debts.

The leaders of the League were everywhere arrested and imprisoned, often tortured and murdered; but others had been provided to replace them indefinitely, and when all the honest journals were suppressed news leaflets were distributed more numerously; and the movement is still in full vigor after six months of heroic endurance. Bishops, priests and laymen have been held in filthy dungeons for ransom or for hostage. This had been a rich source of revenue, for the faithful collected the money to save their priests from death. It is so no more. Word has gone forth that no ransom must be paid; and so martyrs multiply, lay and cleric, after the inspiration and example of the Bishop of Huejutla. Priests administer the sacraments feloniously in the homes,

which are guarded as in the Irish penal days, and the "hedge schools" have had also reproduction. The mutual fidelity of priests and people at such a harrowing price has been the most telling refutation of the voluminous calumnies that so widely defamed them, and the sturdy fight they are making has stirred a sympathy in the States that is breaking the force of prejudice and propaganda.

Calles's calculations on Catholic inertia have also gone wrong. An article by the present writer in 1914, exposing the injustices, the Masonic provenance, and the anarchic consequences of the Wilson interventions, had wide circulation in the Knights of Columbus organ and as a pamphlet, and Dr. Kelley, now Bishop of Oklahoma, wrote vigorously to like purpose for the million readers of his *Extension Magazine* and in several brilliant and well-informed brochures; yet the Catholic public remained dormant. They could not be convinced that the defamations of the Mexican Church and people lacked substantial basis, and the numerous occupants of petty government offices grew indignant over the imprudence and disloyalty of "attacking the government." Dr. Kelley had not been open to this charge; but now a prelate arose who assailed the Administration's action directly and persistently.

Archbishop Curley of Baltimore, in whose primatial see Washington is situated, determined to put the responsibility where it belonged. Seeing hundreds of priests and religious despoiled and outraged and thousands of refugees cast helpless on our borders, among them not a few Americans seeking vainly their government's protection, he concluded that private appeals to "this or that administration when it is a question of persecution of Catholics" were useless. For ten years each in turn had given unbroken support to the Red rulers of Mexico.

In a series of crisp articles in the Baltimore *Catholic Review*, the Archbishop unfolded for the first time the naked facts of the Washington-Mexico relations. Having

reviewed the Wilson interventions and the horrors that ensued, including the organic monstrosity of 1917, he detailed, with names and dates, the negotiations by which the natural rights of men, Americans as well as Mexicans, were callously bartered for oil and money and minerals in the interest of the influential few, and how persecution was condoned for the placation of bigots. He was asking, not that we intervene in behalf of Mexican Catholics, but that we cease to intervene against them; that our administration reverse its policy of regarding the Mexican problem solely through the eyes of the money interests while disregarding the ideals of justice that should govern the interrelations of nations. Alluding to powerful influences exerted to arrest his disclosures, he declared that as bishop and as citizen he would not be silenced while the misuse of our power and the subversion of our principles were crucifying a Catholic people before his eyes.

The Archbishop's speeches and writings, equally cogent and fearless, put the administration apologists on a retreating defensive. Another effect was a Catholic resurgence from the inertia that had comforted Calles. Two lay Catholic magazines that affected the role of leadership had been stressing the perils of bringing the Mexican question into politics, and other pious pacifists of political connections had also been interpreting the Holy Father's call to prayer as a prohibition of further action. Stigmatizing these counsels as "the prudence of cowardice" and "the weak-kneed attitude that has perpetuated our weakness," his Grace insisted that, since Catholics as American citizens were largely responsible for the ruthless persecution in Mexico, it was their civic as well as religious duty to organize their twenty millions in united protest against their country's collaboration with the authors of this persecution.

Last July the Knights of Columbus National Convention, representing 800,000 members, unanimously

endorsed this policy in resolutions presented to President Coolidge, and created a million dollar fund towards enlightening the American people on our Mexican relations. Their organ *Columbia*, a monthly magazine of 800,000 circulation, has been contributing effectively thereto in a series of frank and well informed articles; and besides numerous pithy brochures of their own, they have given wide circulation to the recent admirable Pastoral of the American Episcopate, a luminous analysis of the Mexican situation and of the civic and religious consequences involved. Thus, the Catholic laity have at last been put in a way of realizing their national responsibilities.

The American Federation of Labor has proved an equal disappointment to Calles. Their National Convention, a month after the K. of C. meeting, felt its reaction, and President Green was called to account for his friendly transactions with the Crom, which was denounced as a subsidized political band of grafting gunmen " redder than the Russian Reds " who cowed and forcibly dominated the workers. A resolution was forced on the executive to ascertain the real character of their Mexican affiliation, and the President was constrained to write to Morones, head of the Crom and Calles's Secretary of Labor, dissociating the American Federation from its persecuting activities. As a result of the discussion the large Catholic membership is now in a position to repress the Federation's communistic tendencies, and Calles can no longer count on American labor.

Nor has Masonry been as helpful as was hoped. The leaders and mouthpieces of the Masonic and allied societies have supported the Calles policies virulently, but they have no such control of the general membership as Latin Masonry can exercise. The vast majority of the three million U. S. Masons are more American than Masonic, being both too numerous and too traditionally imbued with the principles of true liberty to be inoculated by the Masonic virus. Hence they are prone to take

the American rather than Masonic viewpoint upon questions of national import; and some new developments gave the Mexican question such an aspect.

These arose from Calles's withdrawal of the American concessions which had secured him (with recognition) his own succession to Obregon, and from his further proclamation that the Constitution's reversion of all property to the state remains intact—*i.e.*, that a majority interest in all oil and other properties shall be held by Mexicans and that the titles of all foreign claimants who should not have applied for and been granted leases on these terms by January 1, 1927, would be *ipso facto* null. This defiance of the United States was forced on Calles by the bankruptcy his policies had created. The robbings of the few remaining Church properties had yielded little, and the confiscation of the large estates had eliminated productive farming till land became valueless, while the consequent loss of revenue was more than doubled by the economic boycott. Hence there was nothing left to satisfy or gratify his expensive army and hungry Crom supporters but confiscation of the rich oil lands. Calles's necessity was Coolidge's opportunity to recede gracefully from his former position without appearing to champion the Catholic interests. Secretary of State Kellogg protested in such language against the retroactive and confiscatory decrees that in consequence the American oil companies and most foreign property holders made no application for leases; and while awaiting the first overt act against American properties, the secretary forbade transmission of war materials which the Calles Government had purchased in the United States.

This action was partly occasioned by Mexico's promotion of a Red revolution in Nicaragua against the conservative government of President Diaz which the United States had recognized. Large Nicaraguan interests, including the lease of a projected Canal strip and of naval bases for protection of the Panama Canal,

made a sane and friendly government desirable. The Calles faction were more than suspect of promoting their Bolshevistic system in other Central American States, and on January 10 were charged by President Coolidge with supplying munitions and forces and inspiration to the Nicaraguan rebels. Hence American contingents had been sent to protect American interests, munitions were declared open to Diaz and closed to the rebels, and U. S. crusiers were ordered to intercept supplies from Mexico. Secretary Kellogg significantly branded such Mexican activity "an unfriendly act," and on January 10 President Coolidge said that the faction disturbing the legitimate and friendly government of Nicaragua was recognized by Mexico alone, and that his government would continue such action as the protection of the lives and properties of their nationals should require. Later, when a Congressional resolution commended arbitration, the President insisted that, as good faith and the right of ownership and other rights involved are inalienable, there was nothing to arbitrate with Mexico.

Meanwhile Mexican events were pointing in the direction of these utterances. Hesitating to execute his decrees against American properties and playing for anti-Catholic support through a self-appointed "Peace Committee" of American bigots, Calles incarcerated Bishop Pascual Diaz, secretary and executive of the Episcopate, and arrested two American correspondents who wanted to interview him. As a full-blooded Indian and a Jesuit of American experience, Bishop Diaz commanded wide influence in both countries and in every encounter with Calles had the better of the argument. To shut off this influence and silence the voice of the episcopate at this juncture he was spirited away to Guatemala; for the character of a new uprising, coincident with American unfriendliness, had put Calles in a panic. The revolt of the Yaqui tribes and the numerous local outbreaks and de la Huerta's

announcement of a projected revolution for civic and religious liberty could be disregarded so long as American arms and recognition were exclusively his; but the new movement was more serious.

René Capistran Garza, chief organizer of the Religious Liberty League and of the effective boycott, a man of character and power untainted by factional connections, had entered Mexico from the United States at the head of well munitioned forces, presumably without official hindrance, and proclaimed a Provisional Government. Knowing that with a free hand such a leader would rally all Mexico to the banner of the Cross and Liberty, Calles imprisoned all the remaining bishops and priests he could reach, partly as proof to Protestant America that this was a purely Catholic movement instigated by them, but chiefly to hold them as hostages against its impact.

Sr. Garza made it clear that the revolution was specifically a national movement for civil, religious and social liberty, born not in Rome but in Mexico, and Catholic only in the sense that the Mexican people are Catholic. Petitions for freedom of worship and schools and press and political action, signed by over five millions of voting age, had been flouted by the Calles Chamber. The people determined to have a voice in their government; unlike former revolutions of political and military adventurers, this uprising draws its power and resources from the people themselves. Its leaders are men of high calibre, neither politicians nor professional soldiers; but under General Fernandez, their able military chief, they have already control of nine states, and with their growing volunteer forces and regular army accretions they expect gradually but soon to establish their government firmly in all Mexico, and with very little fighting. This prediction seems safe, provided the Washington Government sets, as it appears to have done, a practical if not formal embargo against munitions to the Calles faction, and maintains its present attitude against the forces of compromise.

Herein lies the danger for the present and the future. The Catholics of Mexico seem to have risen miraculously above the allurements of compromise which invariably betrayed them in the past; but such an evolution is not so evident in the United States. Though the active interests working for compromise with Mexico are few and mainly motived by bigotry, the pacifists and neutrals who give them potential force are numerous, perhaps a majority. President Coolidge expressed surprise, January 23, at the general ignorance of and indifference to the fundamental questions involved, and the same day Congressman Gallivan presented a resolution to Congress requesting the administration to furnish detailed information on Mexico's violations of various American rights, and on the forms and methods of its American and even Congressional propaganda, with the instruments and paymasters thereof, employed " to alienate the American people from support of their administration." This information, if furnished, will enlighten and astonish the public.

The solution of the Mexican crisis is in the future, but its developments are pregnant with hopeful presage. It has stirred the Mexican people and particularly its manhood, whose religious fervor had required awakening, to a heroism of loyalty to their Church and of sacrificial realization of their civic rights and duties that is bound to be written into the constitution and laws of Mexico. It has exhibited the character of the long defamed Mexican clergy in a new and heroic light. It has unified and vitalized the energies of American Catholics, and it has brought the whole United States to a better appreciation of the Mexican people and, for the first time, to administrative harmony with their ideals and interests. Whatever its other consequences, the Mexican crisis has proved a blessing, if in hard disguise, not only to the Mexican people but to all the people, and especially the Catholics, of North America.

MICHAEL KENNY.

PHILIP FRANCIS LITTLE: THE MAN AND THE POET

Born on May 31, 1866—Died on November 21, 1926

BY GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

MANY people in Ireland, doubtless, will have been speaking of the late Philip Francis Little as a "well-known figure"; but very few, we fancy, of those who have thus spoken have any adequate idea of his significance as a literary personage. Yet we believe he will one day be looked back to as one of the most memorable poets of the Ireland of his period. We shall endeavour to help our readers towards an understanding of his characteristics as a poet, and in order to do so shall begin with some notes on his life.

Philip Francis Little was born sixty years ago, one of many brothers, of a highly-respected Irish family. His father held for many years the position of Judge in the colony of Newfoundland. Educated at Clongowes Wood College, P. F. Little then entered the Irish novitiate of the Society of Jesus. But his stay there did not extend beyond some fifteen months. Unquestionable as were his high ideals and his strongly religious spirit, a certain eccentricity of mind and behaviour, destined to remain unchangeable throughout life, made him too plainly unsuited to the duties and conventions of a religious order. Leaving the novitiate, he at once proceeded to give proof of his spiritual earnestness in a manner which dismayed his friends and amused his acquaintances. He devoted himself to a life of voluntary poverty and hardship, tramping the rural districts of Ireland in the guise of a common vagrant and labourer, seeking for field-work and other odd jobs whereby to live.

He shared the plain and poor food and lodging of simple rustics, slept in barns, or beneath trees or the stars, was often buffeted by storm and drenched by rain, knew want, uncertainty, and not a little ridicule and contumely.

In other ways, too, he emulated the unworldly zeal of St. Francis and his earliest companions, discoursing with much earnestness to his chance companions on the kingdom of God and the business of salvation. "A craze that will soon pass," said the smiling bourgeois world from whom he had cut himself off; it did pass, but not very soon, and not till after some years had been spent under its severe discipline. It was, however, we may say, bound to pass; the intellectual and artistic impulses in Philip Francis were too strong for mere renunciation to keep him long in thrall; he had been well educated; he longed for books, pictures, cultured talk, longed to wield pen and paint-brush. Besides, he possessed all this time a modest but sufficient income. So he—we cannot say "settled down," for settlement is a word that would never square with his habits—nor can we say that he "drifted," for he had a strong will of his own; let us say he "gave himself" to a life that was divided, as time went on, between dreaming, reading, writing, painting, praying in churches, helping the poor, admonishing sinners and, finally, preaching.

He had, of course, many trials and tribulations to endure. Among these not least was the unconformability he found in his landladies. Even the mildest members of that sisterhood resented his bohemian ways, his hopelessly irregular hours, his queer unkempt visitors, and his other oddities and unconventionalities. He, on his part, was no indifferent ascetic in matters of eating and drinking, and was not slow in denouncing culinary and other shortcomings on the part of his successive hostesses. Indeed his works contain not a little fierce satire on a class of ladies who, though often attacked,

seldom defend themselves in print. Trouble from this source may, however, be said to have ended some twelve years before his death when he found in a suitable quarter two unusually kind and accommodating landladies, who, in return for his sure payments, his substantially-good behaviour, his readily-given help in domestic matters (for example, in the haulage of coal-buckets) gave him the wide range of liberties he desired. For this he felt gratitude, and showed it in peculiar ways. One way was the covering with frescoes of most original design two entire inner walls of his hostess's dwelling ; another was the similar treatment of an area-wall which fronted a crowded thoroughfare.

Those who visited this bachelor's abode—his intimates were not many—found that what was chiefly expected of them was to listen to the poet's discourse or, perhaps, to some of his compositions. He seldom showed interest in other people's books ; his mind had long been impatient of ready-made wisdom, also of theory as divorced from action. He would willingly show his paintings and crayon-drawings, in their various stages of completeness or incompleteness. Weird symbolical landscapes they were for the most part, solitary or thinly peopled with unearthly men and women. Philip Francis could discourse on any subject that interested him with ardour, fine choice of words and, indeed, real eloquence. He had odd flashes of wit or humour, and even moods of boisterous merriment—all of which may be found reflected in his poems. But those lighter moods were rare. Often—too often—his grievances as an author became his theme. How editors and publishers were crushing the very life out of him ; how they persisted in refusing his best things, while they welcomed silly mediocrity and rewarded it with cash. Then he would begin to recite one of the slighted masterpieces, rolling his big voice and his big eyes and heaving his big chest—for, though not a tall, he was a stout and heavily-

built man. But this is the common form, so to speak, of a slighted author. More specially characteristic of P. F. were his effusions of large-hearted sympathy for the poor and of zeal for the saving of souls. In the style of a Brother Giles he would dilate on the insolence of the rich, the driving-off of beggars from the porches of his parish-church, the sufferings of genuine "down-and-outs," warming to his theme with such a kindling eloquence as often to force the unwilling tears into his listener's eyes.

But the enthusiast was not satisfied with merely airing his zeal in the seclusion of his landlady's parlour. For some fifteen years before his death he engaged in two public campaigns, and carried them on with a resoluteness that might be called heroic.

One was that of street-preaching, a proceeding so unusual on the part of a Catholic layman—a proceeding, indeed, unprecedented and unparalleled in Ireland—caused a vast amount of suprise, talk and, of course, ridicule. It also drew crowds and with them the very unfavourable notice of the police. But by courage, perseverance and mother-wit the orator managed to hold his own, even when summoned before a magistrate. He frequently assailed the shortcomings of his auditors with more fearlessness than reserve or prudence and on at least one occasion jeopardized his life by the plainness of speech. It was during the bad "black-and-tan" times, when martyrdom for various causes was easily to be had in Ireland. Finding himself one Sunday afternoon in presence of a disorderly knot of soldiers and their female companions, Philip Francis mounted a low wall and apostrophized the gathering as "Pups and prostitutes"! It need harly be said that the sermon was not allowed to proceed much further. The preacher was with difficulty rescued from immediate violence by some friendly bystanders. But a few days later he was sought out by some of the soldiers fired with drink, and might have suffered the extreme penalty for insulting their

uniform, had he not made good his escape to a neighbouring presbytery, where the clergy faced and with difficulty quelled the fury of the pursuers.

His other campaign was directed against the immodesty which he saw constantly on the increase in the dress of women. It was a campaign of reproof and of reparation. He developed the strongest and most inflexible views on the subject of bare throats, exposed shins, and similar improprieties, and seldom hesitated to convey to an offender his sense of disapprobation, whether the scene were street or car, hall or church.[1] How far all this was craze or crank, how far a needed service to a good cause, we will not now attempt to discuss. It seems certain that some good church-going Catholics fell under his ban and had to endure his strictures or sarcasm. Needless to say his interference excited the fierce anger of his victims and of their companions—especially if they happened to have male ones. But P. F. did not mind. If the aggrieved party gave tongue, he would settle them with a retort—often pungently effective, and go on his way well satisfied and even chuckling. Blows were sometimes threatened, but he seems generally to have escaped them.

If his verbal interventions excited much surprise and unfavourable comment, still more general attention was aroused by the penitential garb which he adopted and continued to wear publicly. This was a large common sack, worn as an over-all, provided with arm-holes, and otherwise roughly adapted to P. F.'s bulky form. Over it on his breast hung a small silver crucifix. A large black wide-rimmed felt hat completed the costume, in which he traversed Dublin and suburban streets, on foot or (more often) in tram-car or on side-car. For—

[1] On one occasion he mounted a tram-car, stood at the door, surveyed the passengers, and then remarked "Oh! I have made a mistake: this is a bathing-box." As a protest he then climbed on to the top of the tram. On another occasion and in the same position his remark was: "Naked beauties! No place for me."

in this alone he was un-Franciscan—he hated bodily exertion, and spent a considerable proportion of his income on car-hire.

But we must cut short, though with reluctance, these personal reminiscences, and turn to Philip Francis as he appears in his book—yes, book, for there is hardly more than one to consider. We might say much of many things that go to complete the story of his curious personality—his politics, for example, or his curious fondness for speaking French, or his friends—for he had some good ones. We must leave these things to some possible future biographer, and hasten to say our word about the merits of *Thermopylae and Other Poems*.

This unwieldy gathering of all P. F.'s poetical and dramatic work was published by John Long in London twelve years ago, at the price of eight shillings, and had absolutely no luck. Indeed it nearly broke the poet's heart. His fantasies must have over-ridden at every point the prudence and experience of the publisher; for it must strike everyone who takes it up as an unpromising venture. The selection and arrangement are injudicious—*e.g.*, the "Thermopylae" poem makes an unattractive beginning. The punctuation and proof-correcting are all quite happy-go-lucky. There is a ridiculous little foreword which makes one doubt the common-sense, even the sanity of the whole book; and when the curious reader does dip into the pages here and there, he is as likely as not to light on something nearly quite as ridiculous as the foreword itself. No wonder that the book, as a thing to sell, proved to poor Philip Francis a financial loss and a bitter disappointment.

But it is a great pity that it should thus remain a thing unsold and unread. For, even admitting that three-fourths of it can only become food for oblivion, it remains true that its real merits, its striking originality, have been among the very causes that have impeded

its popularity. Beyond doubt no small fraction of it deserves and claims the regard of every discerning critic and every appreciative reader of poetry. We sincerely hope—indeed we are fairly confident that some such reader will also one day turn editor and will disentangle from weeds and undergrowth a nosegay of the fine flowers that he (like ourselves) will have discovered in *Thermopylae and Other Poems.*[1]

Its tangle of topic, interest and styles is, indeed, so bewildering that at present only a few outstanding points can be referred to. They will at least suggest how much remains unquoted, how many things there are that will reward one who explores patiently on his own account.

Nothing stranger or sadder occurs in this collection than the long piece—indeed it is unduly long—called " In Via Vitae Viator." More than any other it embodies, evidently, feelings and thoughts the most personal to the poet. The theme, put briefly, is the finding by the poet on a lonely mountain-ridge of the dead body of an unhappy youth—a lonely religious itinerant. The metre is blank verse that often swells to alexandrines.

> I found myself emerging in mid air,
> a negligible quantity among
> huge integers, tremendous, primitive,
> deep sky, dark sea, bare plateau—nothing more,
> pervaded by a hush primordial,
> coeval with creation's seventh day,
> when the Lord God desisted from His works . . .
> A monument of golden reticence it was,
> eternal, and its spacious panels were
> faint-scored with the immense wide whispering of the sea,
> the text just scarcely audible ; a calm
> upon whose crumbling antiquity the hum
> of bustling mountain bee deep impress made,

[1] Such an anthologist will need to correct negligences in the poet's editing that go beyond mere misprints. He will have to patch up some obvious negligences in style, grammar and metre.

the clink of cow-bell, note of goat-herd's horn.
Oh, what a feeling silence and how vast!—
a pyramid hewn from cyclopean blocks,
on which the intermittent chirruping
of one small, solitary, grey cicada raised
acoustic hieroglyphic standing out
gigantically in profound relief against
the massive dumbness of that solitude.

Is not that great poetry—nothing less? To such surroundings is fitted in tragically the figure of the dead youth—the silence of Death in the silence of ever-living Nature—

appearing to possess affinity
with skies above and with the sea that rolled
blue billow round that mountain pedestal,
upon the top of which Fate's sculptor hand
had set so still an image. Marble's self,
smooth courtier, insidious diplomat,
arch-flatterer of kings and conquerors,
with all her latent specious power of feigning
and versatile histrionic aptitudes,
that fill so many roles and each to life,
however well encouraged into play
by the felicitous artist's consummate tact,
strive as she might, no marble could have touched
that attitude of absolute repose.

His tragedy is unrolled with intense feeling:—

Poor vagrant of piety, neither monk nor layman,
had been to a college, had had no vocation, he
(God pardon them who had pronounced on him!),
thread-bare and barefoot, went by preference,
at length by his own kindred quite discarded,
begging his bread from one shrine to another;
he wended alway, sometimes singing psalms,
or kneeling by some wayside calvary,
or preaching to the birds . . .
Perhaps he was mad.
Provoked, even wise men will turn imbecile.

Surely he had had provocation, but now all pain and care were ended.

Thirst, hunger, yea, the bleak stars in their spheres,
applause or scorn—their parts in him were past,
their docile slave they should seek otherwhere.
To dig, trench, fetch and carry, hew, plant, build,
intrigue for power, hoard gold in coffers, swear
away men's lives, corrupt, detract and kill—
the taskmaster might seek One Drudge in vain.
The great world's verdict? See that jury cower
in its dull box and tremble for itself!
Its sentences are for others, not for him.
Frown now or fawn, the courtier's supple knee,
the headsman's gory axe—it matters not:
both vain in life, much more so are they now.

Officialdom came in to do its duty on the remains:—

I laid the facts before the notary,
who, with the sole gendarme resident
for leagues on that wave-washed littoral,
assigned, as its last resting-place, the ground
the body pressed. What could they more for Caesar?
A charitable goat-herd did the rest.
'Twas summarily done. A lonely cairn
(I've seen it) marks the spot, is growing still,
like Monte Rosa over Conradin.
Upon the cliffs that cairn can yet be seen,
breaking the rigid sky-line. Bye and bye
a landmark or sea-bearing, it will serve
for poor, bewildered, storm-driven craft, whose crews,
with brine-drenched limbs and wild rain-battered brows,
will recognise and set their courses by it,
when all besides we know of here is changed.

This poet not seldom attains the sublime; it is his humour, however, to leap up to it and down again from it with startling suddenness. Thus, in a long mock-heroic rhapsody, occurring in a fantastic drama called "Troglodyte," such lines as the following are met:—

When it would have seemed
that Death with Nature strove for mastery
. . . when the ocean groaned

upon his beaches, and the screech-owl showed
her uncouth shape in thoroughfares till then
thronged and resounding to the joyous voice
and footfall of glad multitudes, but now
suddenly panic-struck and hushed to hear
the night-bird croak at noon, and to behold
great bearded bats, displaying canine fangs,
lumber upon the breathless air, and when
the beetles of Astarte drove along
the sallow dusk. . . .
entering the tomb alone,
Merlin possessed him of the Prophet's rod.
At this it grew pitchy, as if Hekaté
had broken out of Hades. Veins of fire
upon the thunder-cloud's black brow stood out
in knotted arteries.

These lines, if we mistake not, are worthy of the greatest masters; not less so the following intensely imaginative landscape study :—

Scarcely audible
the rumoured sea-din here; so shakes the air
when from her rocky den the lioness,
aroused by famine, uttering sullenly
her subdued roar, remote, on velvet paw,
moves moaning through the troubled wilderness.
Here have I mused all in a listless land,
most mournful made by the projecting beams
of some ill-fated vessel driven down
the cascades of the sea, her concave ribs
unsepulchred, stripped by the vulture storms.
In such a track, untenanted save by the grey
and cindery smock-weed and the flickering blue
sea-poppy, have I watched, marking the sweet,
sweet, tender notes the sea-bird spends across
those flat and squalid commons. Sweet were they!
So sweet, if half so sweet, pipeth the lone
wild Tartar herdsman to the evening star.

Observe the wonderful touch in "the troubled wilderness": the poet transferring his own imagined trouble to his imagined surroundings. The verse and the atmosphere are such as Shakespeare might have conceived.

Medieval romance has fastened strongly on this poet's

fancy. It is for him, as it was for the romantics of a century ago, something a bit unreal, but none the less refreshing. He has no hesitation in reviving its old conventionalities in costume and setting, nay, even in language. But he justifies himself. Even a devoted antiquarian may make those things live anew; so P. F. reminds us, much more may a poet.

> So muses in his chair the antiquary
> o'er legended device or curio,
> who, through eyes dim as cobweb-curtained panes,
> surveys past days, and strains dull ear to catch,
> inaudible again upon the wind,
> the rippling laugh of joyous jongleur gay,
> fanfare and clash of flaunting cavalcade,
> quaint cadences of far-off ages flung
> back from old walls and crumbling masonry.

There is little of what may be called "new material" in the two pieces named "Dolores (a Serenade)" and "My Lost Albine"; and yet more lovely lyrics than these two have hardly appeared within the last century. The exquisite "fingering" of the verse in the former has already caught the attention of some of the critics—*e.g.*, of the reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement.*

> Bright moonbeams stealing; cool zephyr, fresh-winged from the Ocean,
> fills with his delicate pleading the ear of the slumbering Rose;
> the Nightingale, in her rapture of tender emotion,
> calls from on high the glad dreams which regale your repose.
>
> So with the sweet bird which summoneth dreams to your pillow,
> I, with my plectrum of pearl, of pearl the gift of the Sea,
> now in the mild stars, the moonbeam that flits o'er the billow,
> touch the clear strings of a lute that is mindful of thee.

Yet perhaps "Albine," with its internal rhymes, is more richly musical still, as well as more seriously passionate.

> The silvern dawn is breaking of the morn behind the mountain,
> and a gentle merry-making make the planets o'er the sea;
> one blast upon his elf-horn winds the merman in the fountain,
> and a spirit delicate and sweet stands by the myrtle-tree.

As in the night they wheel by us, Albine, the quick bats twitter,
and the constellations glitter with a love that grows not old,
Oh, tell me not, beloved, of the aeons dark and bitter,
as is life to one who lives and lives when all his tale is told.

My sweetest! All the tender, great intractable emotion
of a young heart's certain splendour lighteth still this spirit-shrine.
Is there ardour in the river? Is there volume in the ocean?
Not again shall be forever such a love as yours and mine.

It is almost impossible to make choice of best. Among the seven stanzas that follow, let this saddest one stand :—

Alas, she will be mute; and the weary moon is set,
and the wild bird sounds his flute in the copses far away;
a moth across the moving air; the grey morn flutters wet;
and lo! Albine is vanished in the bleak and pallid day.

Reading this love-poetry, impassioned if elevated, one naturally asks whether love, as it commonly crosses a young man's way, had played a considerable part along that of Philip Francis. There is good reason to believe that it had; but under what shape and what circumstances we do not know. For this reason we have made no allusion to it in our brief notice of his life, and also for the reason that his love-affairs, whatever inward storms they may have occasioned, made no discernible mark on his outward career. Nor are they distinctly traceable in his poems. The section of these he has headed "Autobiographical" does not include "Dolores" or "Albine"; it does include two or three poems dealing with love, of which it may be sufficient to say that none of them expresses love in the mood of satisfaction or hope.

Family affection—in spite of estrangements—is evident; several pages are eloquent of affection for the poet's mother, a pretty piece is addressed to his youngest brother, while a whole section is dedicated to brothers and sisters collectively. Of definitely religious pieces

there is a surprising paucity, and in the few a surprising absence of merit—surprising, considering the strong religious imprint borne by the poet's life and character.

We have said that the "Thermopylae" volume includes a strange miscellany of styles and matters. There are pieces illustrating strong Irish national and historic sentiment, ballads on the misfortunes of simple and lowly people, pieces of a keen and sardonic moralizing vein. But of all this variety and of the excellence it frequently rises to we can not find space for any further illustration. Nor have we space for illustrating the oddities, queernesses and disappointments which this volume prepares for its attentive readers. Having, however, thus referred to them, we are bound to say in conclusion that repeated study of the whole, spread over many years, has confirmed and increased our estimate of the poetic treasures it contains, mixed up however unhappily these may be with things less excellent—things half-baked, incoherent or simply (though this not often) dull. For all these shortcomings the poet has paid dearly; he has paid the price of a cruel neglect and underestimation. Indeed the story of his published word echoes too well the tale of his life—a tale of heavy suffering brought on by eccentricities that, however undeniable, were associates of high aspiration, original gifts, goodness and amiability. For him now life's trouble and pain are over; he has found, doubtless, the rest he once wooed "in many a musèd rhyme," rest such as a good, however wayward, man looks forward to—one transcending any earthly consummation.

What solemn chords are these, and yet how tender-calm yon sky!
No mourning in yon sun or on yon shining sea! May I
not tell of Death, who sing of Life, since all who sing must sigh?

As when the shadowy hand of eventide the toiling bee
at last will homeward guide, and guide unto her sheltering tree
the weary singing-bird, so may the kind night come for me!

GEORGE O'NEILL.

ST. FRANCIS AND IRELAND

BY GREGORY CLEARY, O.F.M., J.U.D.

IN a previous article[1] we gave an account of the coming of the sons of St. Francis to Ireland and recorded some of their activities during the thirteenth century. Continuing, we propose to deal with other aspects of their history in the fourteenth century and the first part of the fifteenth. This brings us to the introduction of the "Observance," which, although it had obtained a footing in this country at an earlier date, was formally and officially inaugurated in 1460.[2]

Reference has been already made to political factors affecting ecclesiastical and religious life in mediaeval Ireland. The title "*Lord* of Ireland," adopted by the Plantaganet Henry II, was in most respects equal to that of "*King* of Ireland," which was the title assumed by the Tudor Henry VIII. Still the "Conquest" of King John was neither successful nor satisfactory from his or his successors' point of view. English sovereigns well knew that should any one of the Anglo-Norman adventurers, who made their title to this country possible, succeed in constituting himself King of Ireland, the country would be lost to the Anglo-Norman empire. Hence the Irish viceroys, at this period, counted the term of their tenure of office rather by months than by years. They could not be trusted! Any viceroy, with an Irish army at his back, could easily prove too strong for the English King. The result was that, even among the Anglo-Irish colonists, there was no government in the country except such as was devised by individual chiefs.

And so disloyal were those Anglo-Norman barons in their allegiance that they habitually ruled their respective principalities with little or no reference to

[1] *Studies*, Dec. 1926, pp. 542-56.

[2] *Brevis Synopsis Prov. Hiberniae.* (MS., St. Isidore's, Rome).

the King. They even found it to their interest to conform in most things to the laws and customs of the country of their adoption. They began to give, at least many of them, an Irish complexion to their Norman names; they followed the Brehon laws, except when dealing with the English; they conformed to characteristically Irish social customs, and they spoke the Irish language. They came, in fact, to be designated by the English as the "degenerate or rebel Irish"; the natives being the "wild Irish." It was said of them, further, that they had become "more Irish than the Irish themselves"—*Hiberniores Hibernicis ipsis.* So far from this being true, every great national crisis through which the country passed proves that they ever remained English at heart. Even notwithstanding their constant marriage alliances with the native Irish, the Norman bloods were ever ready to unite and co-operate with the English enemy in his efforts to crush and exterminate their so-called countrymen. In times of peace it was to their interest to proclaim themselves Irish; on occasions of national crisis they showed themselves as bitter as the English themselves.

It is necessary to bear in mind considerations such as these if we are to appreciate aright the racial differences prevailing at this period in the Irish Franciscan Province. The Order was, of necessity, recruited from both sections of the population. Candidates, whether of Anglo-Irish origin or of purely Irish stock, brought with them into Religion their respective racial characteristics and political out-look. It is impossible that it should be otherwise; and the sincerity of their respective views may hardly be questioned. Franciscan legislation, on the other hand, afforded no iron-cast mould into which all members could be pressed. On the contrary, liberty of view is essentially Franciscan—as is exemplified in the life and character of the holy Founder himself.

At first the purely Irish Friars found themselves hopelessly in the minority, since, as has been already observed, the Order first developed, in this country, in Anglo-Norman centres. But, with the gradual spread of foundations in strictly Irish territories, their numbers increased. And, with the national revival which was started, in 1258, by Bryan O'Neill and enormously promoted by the victories of the Bruces—no matter how disastrous, in both instances, were the immediate results—the Irish element began to assert itself; until at length in the fifteenth century it became "the far more numerous and more vigorous section of the Province."[1]

But, as was to be expected, the threatened rivalry and predominence of the Irish Friars was long and bitterly contested by their Anglo-Irish confrères. Contemporary politics may not have been solely responsible; but they were the occasion and the cause of bringing about a disunion that would never have otherwise eventuated. It is from Friar Nicholas Cusack, O.F.M., Bishop of Kildare, in his undated letter to Edward I., that we get "the earliest hint of the coming storm that was to split the Franciscan province into two factions."[2] This was towards the end of the thirteenth century. "The peace of the land," the Bishop writes, "is frequently disturbed by the secret counsels and suspect and poisonous colloquies by which certain insolent religious of the Irish tongue, belonging to divers Orders, hold with the Irish and their Kings, telling them that they are justified by human and divine law in fighting for their country and attacking the English conquerors, seizing their goods and appropriating them to themselves." As a remedy the Bishop suggests that Religious with Irish sympathies be removed from convents in dangerous districts.[3] And in a state-paper[4] drawn up about 1283 we read: "And it would be

[1] Fitzmaurice–Little: *Materials for the History of the Irish Franciscan Province.* p. XXXII. (Manchester, 1920).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. XXII. [3] *Ibid.* [4] C.D.I. IX., p. 10.

expedient to the King that no Irishmen should ever be Archbishop or Bishop as they always preach against the King" and "maintain their language . . . . . In like manner the Dominicans and Franciscans make much of that language." Again, an English or Anglo-Irish friar, Malachy of Limerick, in his work *De Veneno*,[1] when referring to Ireland as free of poisonous reptiles, takes occasion to observe that in Ireland the poison is not in the beast, but in the man! We pass over the disedifying incident, recorded by two English monastic chroniclers, alleged to have taken place at Cork in 1291, when the Anglo-Irish and the Irish Friars met in Chapter. Clyn[2] and an anonymous annalist[3] living in Ireland at the time mention the Cork Chapter, but make no reference to untoward happenings thereat.

Still there can be no doubt that serious feuds prevailed at this period, and that there was a distinct cleavage, on racial lines, in the Province. And, very probably, it was with a view to restoring order and unity that Raymond Goffredi, the Minister–General of the whole Order, came to Ireland in the same year (1291). But that it was sought to make political capital of his visit is also abundantly evident. Edward I,[4] on the occasion, issued letters to the Justiciar and other Ministers in Ireland, bearing testimony to the royal solicitude that "peace, tranquility and concord be introduced among the Friars of the Order of Minors in Ireland," and commanding his Government in that country to aid, if requested, Friar Goffredi in the suppression of "the rebels of the said Order." What the General's mission effected is not recorded. But on May 6, 1312, a clause in the famous Bull, *Exivi de Paradiso*,[5] of Clement V provides that the appointment of the Minister-Provincial of Ireland be "irrefragabiliter" reserved to

[1] Fitzmaurice–Little l.c. pp. 56-8.

[2] *Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn* (ed. Butler, Dublin, 1849), p. 10.

[3] MS. Vesp. B. XI. f.128. [4] Pat. 19. m. 6. [5] Bull. Franc. V., p. 85.

the Minister-General at Rome, and no longer vested (as it should be according to the jurisprudence of the rest of the Order) in the electors of the Province. This exceptional mode of appointment was destined to prevail till towards the end of the fifteenth century. It is perhaps possible to see in it the same political intrigue as that by which appointments to the Irish hierarchy were managed at the same period.

The racial differences prevailing in 1325 are summarily chronicled by Clyn[1] as follows: "There was discord, as it were universally, amongst all the poor religious of Ireland, some of them upholding, promoting and cherishing the part of their own nation and blood and tongue; others of them canvassing for the offices of prelates and superiors." He further observes, under the same year, that at a General Chapter of the Order held at Lyons, the Monasteries of Cork, Buttevant, Limerick and Ardfert were taken from the Irish friars and handed over to the English, to form, together with Timoleague, a new English Custody. The policy underlying this measure appears to be the separation of the English from the Irish friars; for the Custody of Nenagh, at the same period, seems to have been essentially Irish in its composition. It included the houses at Nenagh, Athlone, Ennis, Clare-Galway, Galway, Armagh, Cavan and Killeigh.

The invasion of the Bruces occasioned tense political feeling and activity on the part of both sections of the Province. In 1315, a few months after the landing of Edward Bruce, Edward II[2] sent an order to his Justiciar in Dublin "to take information concerning the stay of Irish friars and clerks amongst the English in Ireland, whereby danger may arise to the cities, boroughs, and towns, and to do what he shall consider best for the safety of those parts." Contemporaneously, King Donal O'Neill in his Remonstrance[3] to Pope John XXII., written

[1] l.c. p.17. [2] Close, 9, Edw. II. m. 25.
[3] Fordun (Hearne) Vol. III. pp. 908 sqq.

in 1315 or 1316, observes that the "Anglo-Irish, or 'middle nation,' differ so widely in their principles of morality from those of England or all other nations, that they be called a nation of the most extreme degree of perfidity. Not only the laity and seculars but even some of the religious heretically maintain that it is no more a sin to kill an Irishman than a dog." This most unchristian doctrine, as we know from other sources, was not unusual among the Anglo-Irish bishops, clergy and religious; and it was sometimes acted upon. King Donal singles out a certain Friar Symon as one of its most ardent propounders. In the very court of Edward Bruce this friar is testified to have asserted that "it is not a sin to kill an Irishman, and that if he himself did so, he would not on that account abstain from celebrating Mass."[1]

With a view to restraining the treasonable practices of the Irish friars the King of England, in 1316, sent Friar Thomas Godman (the English Provincial) and Friar Geoffrey of Aylsham to Rome to lay the case before the General of the Order. They took with them a letter from the King,[2] in which he writes: "The Irish friars of your Order have not yet ceased inciting the Irish laity, in every way they can, to rebel against us and to join the said Scots who have entered the said country as enemies." And on March 25, 1317, the King[3] sent letters to the Pope complaining that Irish prelates promoted the Scottish invasion and stirred up the people to rebellion by their sermons. We know of at least one effect of these royal representations to the Court of Rome. John XXII,[4] on April 10, 1317, ordered the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel "to warn all persons (particularly the members of the four Mendicant Orders), guilty of these treasonable practices against the English, to desist, and failing within eight days to do so, to proceed

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, II., 295.
[3] *Ibid.*, III., 318-19.
[4] *Ibid.*, II., p. 325.

solemnly to their excommunication." On the other hand, the only result of King Donal O'Neill's Remonstrance was that a copy thereof was forwarded by the Pope to the English King, requesting him to provide in the matter.

Meantime the King and the English authorities continued to favour and cherish the loyalist friars. Thus, in 1337, the King, being informed that the Athlone house was no longer occupied by English friars, but was in the hands of Irish members of the Order, ordered a writ[1] to be issued for the transfer of the royal alms, which Athlone hitherto enjoyed, to the English house at Cashel. Apparently the English sovereigns' love for the Franciscans, of which we have numerous protestations, was, if microscopically examined, slightly tinged by political considerations. Trim was also an Anglo-Irish monastery, and had the honour, in 1391, of having the Justiciar of Ireland solemnly appointed to office in its Church.[2] In 1394, when Richard II came to Ireland to receive the submission of the Irish Kings and chieftains, the Friars of Drogheda had the privilege of entertaining him for eighteen days.[3] Dundalk, likewise, received due recognition for the loyalty of its members. Again, in 1444, " a great council consisting of the King's Council, the Lords spiritual and temporal and official representatives of counties, liberties and towns met *in domo consilii Regis apud Fratres Minores de Drogheda.*"[4] And at the monastery of Trim, some years previously (1430), a council met " in the fratry of the friars minor " with the patriotic object of adopting measures against " Irish rymers, outlaws and fellons."[5] With one more quotation on this subject and we are done. On July 28, 1451, a Commission[6] to the Lieutenant of Ireland sets forth

[1]Close I. Edw. III. pt. 2., m. 12.

[2]Pat. 15. Rich. II.; Cal. P. C. Hib. 148.

[3]Add. MSS. 4791, fol. 123. cf. Prof. Curtis, *Richard II. in Ireland*, p. 37. (Oxford, 1927).

[4]Fitzmaurice–Little, l.c. p. 196.

[5]*Statute Rolls of Ireland*, 8 Hen. VI., p. 35.

[6]Pat. 29 Hen. VI., p. 2. m. 6.

"the complaints of the King's faithful lieges of the Order of Friars Minor in Ireland, that some of the Order, born in rebellious parts of Ireland, come into places or convents of the Order within the King's obedience, *without taking the oath of allegiance*, and there stay; and (what is worse) subtly procure promotion to administration and governance of offices and dignities of the Order; *whereby dangers are known to have befallen the Order.*" The King was, forsooth, tenderly anxious for the welfare of the Order of St. Francis!

From what we have hitherto written it must almost appear that the Friars, at this period, were exclusively involved in racial quarrels, and totally neglectful of their vocation. Needless to say, this was far from being the case. Possibly we have given too much space to the discussion of this particular phase of mediaeval Irish Franciscan life. In the first place, there was an assiduous devotion, without racial reference, to the promotion of learning among the brethren.

In our previous article we registered a promise to deal with the scholastic methods prevailing in the Order in the mediaeval period. Roughly speaking, these methods were as follows.[1] In each Custody or Wardenship a convent was designated, "in which all novices of the Custody shall be collected up to the time of their profession." This was the ordinance of the General Constitutions of 1260, when St. Bonaventure, then General of the Order, restricted the education of novices to their spiritual and ascetical formation. His ordination has been substantially observed to the present day. With reference to the post-profession course, there was a decree of the General Chapter of 1292 enjoining that "the provincial ministers shall institute schools for Arts for the instruction of the youth of the province."

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[1] See H. Felder, *Gesch. d. Wissensch. Studien* (Freiburg 1904); Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford 1892); Idem, *Franciscan Essays* (Aberdeen 1912).

"Arts" here means Grammar and Logic. Physics or natural philosophy is also to be taught, provided the professor be not of the school of Theology; for Theology, "the queen of science," is to be taught separately. It had its principal home, in each Province, in the head convent of the respective Custody; though, as a *desiderandum*, the Order strove that every house should have its own Lector of Theology. From the Arts school, where the student remained two or three years, and from the Theology school in each convent, students progressed to the special school of Theology established in each Custody. Those who showed special aptitude in the custodial school were sent to the big universities. A friar progressing for full university honours should, usually, complete eight years study of Arts, either at the university or at his friary. Then, after spending six years, chiefly in the study of Scripture, he was presented by the Regent-Master of his Order to the University Chancellor and Proctors with a view to "opposing in Theology." If successful, he became, after a further two years, a "respondent." Then, when he had spent nine years in theological study, he was admitted to read, *i.e.* lecture on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; and if he did so successfully he became a B.D. After several other years of lecturing he was advanced to the D.D. Friars thus qualified either returned to their respective Provinces, or the Minister General disposed of their services otherwise.

There was not, at this time, in the Order a stereotyped *Ratio Studiorum*, as, for example, that which subsequently prevailed among the Jesuits; but the outline given above represents, in a general way, the scholastic programme then followed. Several pieces of evidence survive to show that, substantially at least, the programme was adopted in Ireland—a country not hampered, in this respect, any more than other Provinces of the Order. Of course countries such as France, England and Italy,

whose cities were the seats of the great mediaeval universities, enjoyed exceptional opportunities.

Friars thus set aside for study and teaching were rarely, if ever, required by their superiors to perform the ordinary work of the sacred ministry. Indeed, such assignation would defeat the Order's intended purpose, as the profession of teaching and ministerial work would be incompatible. To quote Prof. Little[1]:—

> In 1300, the provincial minister sent to the bishop of Lincoln the names of twenty-two Oxford friars whom he wished to be licensed as confessors in the diocese. The bishop licensed the first eight in the list and struck out the remaining fourteen. Among the first eight there are two Doctors of Divinity, but no one who attained any distinction as a writer (the remaining six were never doctors). Of the rejected, six or seven became subsequently regent doctors of Oxford, and two others regent doctors of Paris, the two latter being Robert Cowton and John Duns Scotus. What would have been the result if the name "Johannes Douns" had been put among the first eight? One may be pretty sure that his works would not have filled twenty-six volumes.

The mention of the name of Scotus in the above extract suggests the query: Is he to be proclaimed an Irishman? Three countries—Ireland, Scotland and England—have long and valiantly, but so far inconclusively, striven for the honour of having given him birth. This much at least may be said with safety, that the place of his birth cannot, even yet, be determined with certainty. It is the case of Homer over again. England's title to the honour, as put forward up to the present, is perhaps the weakest of the three. Scotland's case is much stronger. For, if the designation "Scotus" is to be taken as indicating John Duns' nationality, there can be little hesitation in awarding him to Scotland. For, contrary to the contention of most writers of the seventeenth century—McCaughwell, Colgan, Wadding, Ponce, etc.—it must be admitted that Ireland had ceased, at the time of the Subtle Doctor, to be called *Scotia* and

[1] *Franciscan Essays*, pp. 86-87.

its inhabitants, *Scoti*. We have many instances of his Irish contemporaries on the Continent being universally known as *Hiberni*, not *Scoti*. At the same time it must be borne in mind that surnames are, oftener than not, arbitrary, and not unfrequently based on some personal or family characteristic. Now, from the middle of the thirteenth century many Scotchmen, notably soldiers—the Gallóglaigh or foreign soldiery of Irish battles—migrated to Northern Ireland. And I submit that the family of the great John Duns might have received its surname from such incident, just as likely as from a more generic and imposing source. Considerations of this kind must prevent us from giving wholesale credence to the theory that, because Ireland at this time was no longer generally known as *Scotia*, the surname "Scotus" must necessarily mean "Scotchman." Too many have read such a meaning into the learned articles of P. André Callebaut, O.F.M.,[1] attaching to them a conclusiveness to which that writer makes no pretence. Moreover, the well-defined Irish tradition with regard to Down-Patrick as the birthplace of the Subtle Doctor, which is attested by Archbishop O'Fihilly, O.F.M., in the fourteenth century and by subsequent Irish writers, must be admitted to be exceptionally strong. But space does not permit us to enter further into the question. It will be of interest to add that a critical edition of all Scotus's works is now being undertaken by the renowned Franciscan College of Quaracchi, whose edition of the writings of St. Bonaventure is known to the learned as the finest piece of critical editing hitherto done for any Doctor of the Church.

How futile it is to trust to mediaeval surnames, as indicative of nationality, is further demonstrated in the case of the next great Irish Franciscan scholastic coming within this period, viz., Mauritius *de Portu*. What could be more indefinite than this surname?

[1] *Arch. Franc. Hist.* X. 3-16, and subsequent numbers.

And though the bearer is incontrovertibly an Irishman, still, and precisely because of this indefiniteness, three of the four Provinces have claimed his birthplace.[1] Some, like Colgan, maintain that the "Portus" in question is in Ulster—"two leagues from Down-Patrick." Others, like Dr. Lynch of Galway,[2] declare him from Connaught, and born near Clonfert, the Franciscan house at Kilnalahan in that locality being known as *Conventus de Portu puro*. Munster's claim, however, is undoubtedly the strongest, and is advocated by Wadding and others; for the O'Fihillys were Chiefs of Tuath O Fithcheallaigh, an extensive territory situate in the neighbourhood of the port of Baltimore.

For his transcendent qualities De Portu became known to his contemporaries as "Flos mundi." Within our narrow limits it is impossible to dwell further on him, though one of Ireland's very greatest scholars. We refer our readers to Wadding[3] and to Harris-Ware[4] for a fairly adequate account of his many works.

Other learned men of the Province, whose names, though little more than their names, have come down to us, are as follows: 1. The authors of the "Book of Ross," or the "Book of Waterford," composed or collected towards the end of the fourteenth century by Anglo-Irish Friars. It is a miscellany of pieces in prose and verse, and is in Latin, French and English.[5] 2. Odo O'Neill, a Lector of the Monastery of Armagh.[6] 3. William O'Mallchacha, lector at Nenagh. 4. Galfrid O'Hogain, who attended the General Chapter at Assisi in 1354, and was one of the authors, if not the author, of the Annals of Nenagh.[7] 5. Thomas O'Huolachain, lector at Ardfert, who died, in 1362, in the flower of his age and full of promise. 6. Francis de Cardaillas, whatever his nationality (obviously French), who had toiled

[1] Cotton, *Fasti Hiberniae*, p. 11.
[2] MS. in Bodl. libr., transcr. in T.C.D.
[3] *Scrip. Ord. Minorum*, s.v.
[4] Vol. I. p. 613; II., pp. 90-1.
[5] See Fitzmaurice-Little, l.c. pp. 121.
[6] Clyn's Continuator, anno. 1348.
[7] MSS. F. 4. 23, T.C.D.

long in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford and was a lector in Ireland. 7. Thadaeus O'Breassel, a "Friar much lettered," who died at Clonmel "four days before the Feast of St. Michael" in 1369 and who, though an Irishman, had been Vicar Provincial in Ireland. 8. Donatus O'Grada, lector of Theology at Nenagh in 1371. 9. Thomas O'Colman, a distinguished student in Theology at the universities of Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, "who laboured diligently for the rights and liberties of the Church of Ireland among divers temporal lords in time of war, thereby often incurring danger of death." He was lector of Scripture at Armagh in 1375. The Anti-Pope, Clement VII, intended to promote him to the Primacy in 1381.[1] 10. Marianus Curydany and Laurence O'Murth[a], who in 1375 set out from Ennis to study at Strasbourg. 11. Hubert de Kelvesnaken, a lector in Ireland in 1376, who had studied in Paris, Oxford, Cambridge and other universities; who was designated by the General Chapter to lecture on the "Sentences"; and on whom Gregory XI., in a letter to the Archbishop of Cashel, wished to be conferred the title of Master of Theology, if found worthy on examination by four Masters of the University of Avignon.[2] 12. Thomas Fleming, S.T.B., who in 1432 was made Bishop of Leighlin. 13. Thadaeus Magillacudain, lector at Ennis and described by Wadding as "vir doctus," and Matthew Macheagan, a graduate of Bologna and a lector at Askeaton in 1441. In the same year John Macharry, John Ochal and Gilbert O'Hallin went to study at Cologne, and Cornelius O'Malony, S.T.B., went to lecture on the "Sentences" at Cambridge.[3]

Other activities, for which we have failed to find space here, will be recorded in our next paper; which will deal mainly with the Conventual and Observantine movements and the "Third Order Regular."

GREGORY CLEARY, O.F.M.

[1] See Fitzmaurice-Little, l.c. 1375 and 1377. [2] *Bull. Franc.* VI., p. 578.
[3] Wadding, *Annales*, XI., p. 144.

FOREIGN TRADE AND NATIONAL POLICY

BY JOHN BUSTEED, M.COMM., F.S.S.

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MOST of us have a vague conviction that Ireland had a prosperous foreign trade in the days of long ago—ports humming with activity, quays thronged with Flemish, Italian and Turkish merchants. In contrast we see the modern Irish ports full of unreasonable Transport Workers and adverse trade balances. A little reflection, however, will show that our exports of salt beef and salt butter could not have amounted to very much in the days when transport was wretched, and when foreign countries had few manufactures to send us in exchange. The truth is that England did not cease to be an agricultural country until after the Famine (barely eighty years ago). Consequently, we did not export food on the grand scale until comparatively recently. Considering all the circumstances, the external trade of more than a century ago was relatively large, but it must be clearly recognised that the heyday of our foreign trade was not in 1500 or 1600 or 1700 or 1800, but in 1914.

Large though our external trade may be, we exaggerate the importance of the foreign market. We tend to accept exports as a complete measure of our national production. In actual fact, we consume half of our national produce, and export the other half. Even if its importance is exaggerated, the foreign trade position is sufficiently important to merit all the attention that is being given to it. In this article, I shall make an humble effort to clarify the economic issues involved in our foreign trade, with special reference to tariffs.

Doctrinaire Free Trade. I want first to show that the doctrinaire concept of Free Trade has no justification.

The idea is based on the theory of "laissez faire, laissez passer," put forward by the French economists of some 150 years ago. "Let there be free play of the economic forces, and the most prosperous system will result." The biologists, later, invented a much more expressive phrase, "The law of the survival of the fittest," interpreted as meaning "Allow a free play of natural forces, and the best will survive." It is on this law, which our less sophisticated grandfathers accepted as being almost divinely inspired, that the general theory of free trade is based.

Now what does the law mean? If there is a free play of natural forces, those best able to survive will survive. Which does not mean much. It does not mean that those *most desirable* to survive will survive. The gardener knows too well that if he allows a free play of natural forces, the orchid will not survive the thistle. Any man who ever called a policeman, or used a raincoat, does not believe in the unrestricted play of natural forces. Man's main effort in life, indeed, is to invent means of reducing the freedom of undesirable natural forces.

If all the economic forces in existence were desirable forces, if there were no such thing as foreign sweated labour, depreciating currencies, dumping, adventitious circumstances that give one country a long industrial start over others (a start which may give overwhelming advantages in the shape of skilled labour supplies, organised finance, transport and produce exchanges, customers' "good-will," etc., etc.), if capital and labour were perfectly mobile, if homeland meant nothing to men—then free trade would be justified, not merely unrestricted foreign trade, but unrestricted domestic trade as well. We should require no Factory laws, Trade Boards or strikes.

We might put the idea in a much more general form, that if man were perfect, anarchy might be tolerable.

While man is merely man, anarchy is intolerable. Every community is justified in taking whatever measures it considers desirable to protect the interests of its citizens, including measures to increase the productivity of the community as a whole. The protection and assistance so given include such things as police forces, technical schools, the services of consuls, the subsidising of bodies like the I.A.O.S., the maintenance of a Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the payment of bounties, the imposition of tariffs, and the enforcement of import and export prohibitions. It would require a whole volume of " Studies " to consider the general question of the role of the State *versus* the role of the individual. My only point here is that the world has never tolerated pure individualism (*i.e.* anarchy). On the other hand it does not seem likely that the world will ever tolerate pure Communism. Our systems will always have to be a mixture of individualism and community control, the trend of recent generations being for a reduction of individualism and an increase of State interference. State interference has not always been of the wisest, but that has not altered the trend of affairs. The conflict between the individual and the State is the old problem of preserving liberty, while eliminating licence.

Free Trade Countries. The second point that I would like to make is that no country bases its foreign trade policy on doctrinaire free-trade precepts. I understand from some Irish writers that Holland is " the last bastion of Free Trade." The truth is that the list of Dutch tariffs would occupy more than 50 pages of " Studies." The tariffs include such items as 20 per cent. on cheese, 20 per cent. on prepared meat, fish and vegetables, 45 per cent. plus excise on cigarettes, etc. Denmark is another example sometimes held up to the Irish reader, though *every* import (except a few specifically exempted items) has to bear a tax of at least $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The great example of Free Trade, however, is Great Britain.

Our neighbour was a very strong tariff country up to eighty years ago. By then she had developed a position whereby she specialised in manufacture for export, and imported raw materials and food. Just as it would be foolish for us to put a tariff on imports of iron ore, so it would have been foolish for England to tariff her raw materials and food. As soon as other countries began to develop manufactures, the position altered. Was England to import manufactures which could be produced at home? No. The campaign to "Buy British Goods" has cost millions of pounds (largely tax-fed money). England set up a tariff commission long before the Irish Free State did. It is at present in being. England's schedule of protective tariffs is at least as long as the Irish schedule, and it will grow longer. England is not, and never was, a Free Trade country. The fact that it did not protect its industries from foreign competition, when no effective foreign competition existed, is not doctrinaire Free Trade.

General Principles Meaningless. One cannot answer the general question whether protective tariffs would or would not be desirable in an undesignated country, under unknown circumstances, at an unknown time. The only possible answer is: "Maybe they would, and maybe they wouldn't." A tariff may be likened to a stimulant. A stimulant may benefit a man who has met with a mishap, but who still has in him the potentialities of an active and useful life. Given to a drunken man, it might make confusion worse confounded. One may argue that it is healthier not to be in need of stimulants, and that, further, stimulants may do great harm; but this surely does not prove that stimulants *on general principle* are undesirable. Similarly we cannot argue *on general principles* that tariffs are undesirable.

All we have done up to the present is to open the door for Irish tariffs. We shall have to examine them very closely before we can let them in.

The Superiority of the Specialist. The problem at bottom is whether international trade is desirable at all, and if so, to what extent. The text-books tell us that international trade is based on the principle that countries specialise in those manufactures or products in which they have the greatest relative advantage. This is not the best way of attacking the question. Nations do not trade with one another as such. Individuals and firms trade with one another, and we shall have to think in terms of individuals and firms.

The practice of specialisation dates back to the time when Adam delved and Eve span. Adam had an *inherent* physical superiority in delving, and so he delved for two. In our own day, men tend to specialise in the direction of their *inherent* natural capacities; but it is still more true to say that men specialise in order to *acquire* skill and capacity. The artistic temperament, the mechanical bent, the love of action, the love of study are largely inherent. One could say that a man is a born actor, but on the other hand one could not hold that a man was a born chimney-sweep, gas-fitter, or excise officer. The average tradesman or professional man is not born but trained. In other words, the specialist owes his superiority, not so much to *inherent* powers, but to *acquired* skill. In individuals, in firms, and in nations superiority in industrial organisation is, to some extent, natural, inherent and perhaps permanent, but to a much larger extent it is artificial, acquired and alterable. When the text-books then accept the basic elements of the problem to be static and unalterable, they do not get us to grips with reality.

Localisation of Industry. Why do industries become localised in certain places? In our answer we must avoid the usual weakness of failing to distinguish between extractive, agricultural and manufacturing industries. Extractive industries (coal, oil, marble, diamonds, copper, tin) can develop only where the natural

deposits occur. Such industries must of necessity be confined to certain localities. To a lesser extent, certain localities possess an inherent superiority for agriculture, which is dependent so much on climate. Ireland will probably never develop a platinum-mining or rice-growing industry.

The conditions of manufacturing industries, however, are different. And manufacture, with its auxiliaries finance, transport, distribution, etc., represents the bulk of modern economic activity. Why do manufactures become localised in certain places? Has Dublin an *inherent* superiority for the manufacture of biscuits, Bristol for cigarettes and chocolate, Dundee for jute, Port Sunlight for soap?

One of the reasons why manufactures develop in certain places is because certain men lived in those places. Boots Cash Chemists, Ltd., has Nottingham as its base, because Sir Jesse Boot is a Nottingham man. Holland dominates the margarine world (though not superior in natural advantages to Denmark or Ireland), because the original pioneers, Jurgen and Van den Bergh, happened to be Dutchmen. Dublin has a biscuit industry, because the Jacobs were Irish. If they were Glasgow citizens, it would be a Glasgow industry.

I do not wish to belittle the fact that the natural advantages of a locality do very often compel manufacturing enterprises to settle there. I merely wish to emphasise that they represent only one (and often an unimportant one) of many factors.

Access to raw material is often mentioned as an influence in deciding the location of an industry. This suggestion, however, loses force when we regard the fact that England imports her most important raw materials—iron ore, cotton, wool, oils and fats, leather, rubber and hides. In its infancy, the British iron and steel industry owed its strength to local ore supplies but at present it depends on Swedish and Spanish supplies.

If accessibility to raw material were an essential factor, Sweden and Spain would be able to develop formidable iron and steel industries. Further, we have the almost incredible fact that while the Far East is the main market for cotton piece-goods and the raw material comes from U.S.A., the manufacturing is done in Lancashire—thousands of miles away. Improvements in transport have made access to raw materials a secondary consideration.

A second *inherent* advantage in a locality may be access to power. While coal was the chief source of power, English districts commanded a tremendous advantage in this respect. Here again transport improvements have weakened the position, and more important still, the development of oil and electricity, which are easily transported over long distances, has undermined the throne of King Coal. Hydroelectric power has enabled Italy to become a textile exporting country, though up to a few years ago it imported the bulk of its textiles.

Accessibility to markets may be cited as a third factor in localisation. It explains why market gardens are established on the costly acres near cities, instead of on the cheaper land further out. But it has little reference to international trade. It does not give a foreign producer an advantage over a native producer.

The only other inherent natural superiority might be the native character of the inhabitants. Are Englishmen *inherently* more suited for working in factories than men of other nations? It would be difficult to support the contention. We will come closer to our present problem by asking: "Are the Irish *inherently* inferior as factory workers"? Well, we have ample evidence that the Industrial Revolution in England was to a considerable extent dependant on the army of Irish immigrants who built the roads and railways, and worked the mines and factories. Henry Ford's experiences, as recorded in his book "Today and Tomorrow," show that the Cork workers are as good as his Detroit workers.

The *inherent* qualities that make for local advantages then are not permanent. They are subject to change. Further, the really important advantages are not inherent at all. They are adventitious. In theory they are removeable, but in fact they may be a more lasting source of strength to a locality than the inherent advantages are.

Of two localities equally well-suited for a particular industry, if one gets an early start, it may easily dominate the other. An industry well established has a momentum, an industry about to begin has merely an inertia. Skilled labour supplies are of vital importance to a factory. If it is the only factory of its kind in a district, it will not be able to draw on a reserve of labour as easily as it could if it were in a district containing a number of such factories. The labour supplies tend to congregate where there is an existing market. In such areas the home, the club, the public-house are all training grounds. In a pottery district the child grows up in a tradition of pottery. Unconsciously, through the years he absorbs innumerable details about his future profession.

A localised industry can develop its own produce exchange. The Bradford Wool Exchange and the Manchester Cotton Exchange give their local industries tremendous, if adventitious, advantages. Similarly the financial machinery, the transport organisation, the subsidiary industries of the area are dovetailed into the main industries and add to their strength. Further, an established industry has a powerful asset in its customers' "good-will." In Ireland we are familiar with the strength of the "good-will" for English products. That same "good-will" extends over the Continent, the United States and South America. It is based on the good quality of the product; but a newly established industry in Ireland, or anywhere else, making an *equally good* product, will be beaten in the market, unless it has special inherent advantages of its own, or is helped by some external agency.

Further, the established industry, or rather the organised industrial area, trains or attracts to it the leaders of industry, who will contribute a further element of strength. And finally, organised industry, as it grows in size and financial strength, will be able to crush new competitors by underselling or indeed by merely threatening to undersell them for a sufficiently long period.

As the decades go by, the *inherent* superiorities of certain areas for factory and allied industries are rapidly becoming smaller, and the *adventitious* superiorities becoming greater.

Now does it matter to me whether my boots are rivetted by John Smith in Dublin or by James Smith in Leicester? If I am a pure individualist, it may not seem to matter to me which of them is employed and which unemployed. If I admit such a thing as nationality, however, I must feel a closer human sympathy with the Dublin man. Further, if I see far enough ahead, I must realise that the Leicester man will never contribute to the taxes out of which my salary is drawn, or (if I am a business man) that he is much less likely than the Dublin man to buy my goods or the goods of my neighbour who is dealing with me. Even if the Leicester man gives me better value for my money, it may not be good economy on my part if the explanation is merely that he is in better practice than the Dublin man—that he had adventitious superiority.

Up to the present I have been dealing with a localisation of industry, and its resulting export trade, which, if not inherently inevitable, is at any rate conducted according to the ordinary, accepted standards of commerce. There are other types of international trade which do not fall within this category. (1) If a nation has its conscience shocked by, and refuses to batten on, the fruits of sweated industry, the prohibition of sweated labour within national territory should logically be accompanied by the penalisation of sweated imports.

(2) If a foreign trust or country dumps its surplus produce on another country, regardless of price and without any guarantee of continuity of supplies, the last state of the consumer may be much worse than the first. The McNary-Haugen Bill now before the United States legislature proposes to keep up home prices of agricultural produce by restricting the quantity marketed, and by deliberately dumping the surplus at any price in far-away countries. This is not fair trade. It will help to ruin farmers in the importing countries. It will tend to replace certain by uncertain supplies—which is not good economy for the buyer. (3) Similar to these are imports from countries with depreciat*ing* (not depreciat*ed*, by the way) currencies. Such trade harms the country that gives and the country that receives.

The adventitious superiority of a foreign producer is not a justification for international trade (and superiority in factory and allied industries is in the main adventitious), unless the workers and the capital of the home industry are *fully employed already*. If, as in Ireland and most other countries, they are not fully employed, the community is justified in protecting its own producers while they in turn build up adventitious superiorities. The only qualification to this statement is that the results of such protection must be worth the cost. If the cost is greater than the eventual profit, the measures cannot be justified.

Import Tariffs. An import tariff is such a form of protection; but it would be unwise to use it until we are sure that it is the best form of protection. What will it cost? Will it be effective, and to what extent? Will the cost be worth while? Could the same results be achieved in a less costly way? To answer these vital questions there must be an expert body, a Tariff Commission, to examine the general idea in the light of circumstances in the particular country, and to examine the particular cases of individual industries. This is

the justification of the policy pursued by the Free State Government.

I have already mentioned that the superiority of the foreign producer, while merely adventitious, may in fact be almost overwhelming. In theory it may be bad business to import certain products; in specific cases, on the other hand, it might be now too late to apply the cure. This question of measuring the foreigner's grip is an outstanding, and by no means easy, problem of the Commission.

It is part of the United States tariff policy to obtain costs of production from foreign manufacturers under threat of banning their goods. The idea has not, I believe, worked well in practice. If internal scrutiny is not possible recourse must be had to lengthy and expert scrutiny from the outside. If the dissecting knife cannot be used, the telescope in expert hands may produce useful results, but at best they obviously must be incomplete.

If it will not be easy to analyse the existing position of the foreign producer, it will be less easy to prophesy how the native producer will fare under the shelter of a tariff and how far that shelter will prove a burden to the community. In order to place the issue beyond doubt applicants for Irish tariffs frequently guarantee that, if given the home market, they will keep prices level with world prices. This guarantee of price is of little value however, because there can be no effective guarantee of quality.

The Cost of Tariffs.—Even if there is a reasonable expectation of the producer making good, there remains the problem whether the cost is worth it to the community. The cost of a tariff on finished manufactures is not to be measured by the actual tax paid. To change a tax on tea into a tax on boots costs the consumer nothing. A tax on clothing which is used to relieve rates is not a hardship. The tax, if not collected in one form, will have to be collected in another. Such tariffs merely

involve a change in the incidence of taxation, and the question is whether the new incidence is just or unjust. If it shifts a tax from the broad back of the rich to the weak shoulders of the poor, its burden may be much greater than the direct money burden. Here then is a problem for the Tariff Commission; "How will a tariff policy affect the incidence of taxation"? It might be found to rectify evils in the existing position. On the other hand, of course, it might not.

An import tax on raw materials is a direct burden on native industry. It increases the cost of production, if the materials have to be imported or if the equivalent native material is increased in price. Similarly with a tariff on semi-finished goods. Again the cost is not measured by the amount of tax paid but by the reduction in profits and by the unemployment caused through injuring the competitive power of the native manufacturer of finished goods. For the encouragement of raw material industries and manufactures of "intermediate" goods, a bounty may be found more useful unless the "intermediate" products can, when tariffed, be supplied completely from home resources and at as low a price as the foreign article. The problem is a familiar one in all countries with immature industries. Such countries are much more likely to have "intermediate" industries than "finishing" industries. Should the better entrenched "intermediate" factory be helped to consolidate its position or should the final objectives be attacked immediately seeing that some troops have reached them and are crying out for reinforcements? A specific instance of this in Ireland is cloth-making and clothing-making. We have protected our tailors, and at their request we have ignored the cloth mills. I am not going to defend or attack that decision. My object is to indicate the complexity of the question.

Allied to but still distinct from this aspect of the problem is the question of "fundamental" industries.

Strickly speaking the primary industries are those directly connected with the provision of food, shelter and clothing. Agriculture is primary; agricultural machinery is secondary. If the " fundamental " industries are prosperous, they will be able to afford the cost of developing promising ancillary industries within their own country. If the " fundamental " industries are weak, they cannot carry a burden. They may themselves require protection. In actual life it may not be easy to decide whether an industry is " fundamental " or not, so complex are the reactions of the economic organisation. Further, even though the " fundamental " industries may be poor, their real interests may call for a protective tariff on ancillary industries. This will be the case if the ancillary industries, when guaranteed the home market, will be able to meet the demand as fully and as cheaply as the foreigner did. In such a case the " ancillary " workers will be in a position to buy food, clothing and shelter and help to strengthen the " fundamental " industries.

The cost of a tariff is to be measured by the dislocation which it causes in existing vested interests at home and by the reduced purchasing power that it causes through higher prices. Its benefits are to be measured by the amount of employment it creates and (which may be very important) by the atmosphere of confidence and progress which it engenders. But to measure and contrast these is an intricate process, and at best there will be a number of unmeasureable factors.

Indirect Costs of Tariffs.—Underlying the discussion up to the present there has been an assumption that a tariff will protect both the native workmen and the native employer. Experience in the Free State has shown that the native employer, unless he is already fairly well established, may have little to hope from a tariff. The powerful foreign combine can come in, build a branch factory, and often smash the native

employer. The cigarette and tobacco industry provides a well-known example. The foreign company has the "good-will" of the Irish consumer (because of good value given in the past), and its financial power enables it to frighten off the smaller native competitors. It can afford to undersell the native producer until he is ruined, and the native producer knows it. This applies in all industries where the native producer has not already been able to establish a strong "good-will" amongst the consumers. Of course incidentally the foreign company can bring in its experience, its trained charge hands, and its cheaper English bank accommodation. So that even on straightforward efficiency the branch factory of the foreign producer has a big lead from the very start. In addition the big trust can very often control even the raw material coming to the Irish producer. In brief the foreign producer can bring into this branch factory many of the "adventitious" superiorities that he already possesses. In so far as the tariff is designed to protect the native producer against these adventitious superiorities it may fail completely.

Now it is reasonable to expect that the branch factory of the foreign combine will never develop an export trade. I believe that N.K.M. toffees are advertised in England in competition with the products of the parent company (Macintosh's). But on the whole it is not to be expected that a branch factory will expand its sales outside the home market as vigorously as an independent little native company.

As the profits of a branch factory are merely a question of book-keeping, there is no reason why the Irish branch factory should earn big profits and pay big income tax to the Irish Government. The parent company might justifiably credit these profits to itself and pay the income tax to its own government. At any rate the Irish Government would be more certain of sharing in the profits of the native producer. Further, the banks would get

more business from the native producer; the combine has its own financial arrangements in England, where incidently it can get lower money rates than in Ireland. Again, the Irish producer's profits are more likely to be spent in Ireland than the English company's profits are. And lastly, the (probably foreign) manager of the branch factory is not likely to have the same civic outlook and civic activities as the native manufacturer. Taken in general there is a strong *prima facie* case against the branch factory of the foreign company.

Other Methods of Protection.—A bounty or subsidy is similar to a tariff in its effects, and is in many ways preferable. A tariff is a negative help to the home producer. A subsidy is a positive help. If there is to be discrimination against the foreign branch factory, it can be effected under a bounty scheme, but not under a tariff scheme. What is more important is that with a bounty the taxpayer knows exactly how much the protection is costing him.

The disadvantages of the bounty however are very strong. There is first the administrative difficulty. The Minister of Finance, in putting on a tariff, has the satisfaction of being able to make a corresponding decrease in some other form of taxation. A bounty will compel him to make a definite increase in taxation, a course of action which he will not relish. Further, whether the bounty is a fixed sum, or is based on output, or takes the form of a guarantee of profits, it cannot make a satisfactory distinction between the efficient and the inefficient. It may bolster up inefficiency. In addition, a bounty must definitely cost the community something, whereas a tariff may be no burden on the community (if the guarantee of the home market will enable the home industries to meet the demand as fully and as cheaply as the foreigner did). On the whole the dice appear to be loaded against bounties. But in certain circumstances the bounty may be the superior weapon. In

the case of the Carlow sugar factory a tariff would have been probably useless, because the industry had to face many uncertainties besides foreign competition. Many of the subsidies given to agriculture could not be replaced by tariffs at all. What for instance would be the tariff equivalent for a subsidy on a premium boar? The nearest equivalent (and not very near at that) would be a tariff on American bacon. For an export industry a tariff (being useless) is inferior to a bounty. For a home-market industry whose only grievance is unfair foreign competition, the tariff is probably the more effective weapon. For the home-market industry which is extremely immature and has to face other important risks besides foreign competition (experimental crops, inexperienced labour, etc., as in the beet sugar industry) or which will definitely have to increase prices for a few years or have an output too small for the home market, a bounty may be preferable. The tax necessary for financing a bounty may be irritating for a while, but the increased prices due to tariffs are a *continuous* irritant and may actually strengthen the "good-will" of the foreign product.

Of more immediate and more practical interest is the protection of capital fighting on the home front. Other things being equal the native employer is more desirable than the branch manager of a foreign company; and he is a still more desirable citizen than his brother who employs his capital abroad. The man who ventures his capital in an Irish enterprise and who gives employment to Irish workers has to pay a *higher* rate of income tax (plus profits tax) than the man who seeks safety in War Loan and who gives no employment or who perhaps is actually financing the foreign producer and foreign employment. Surely there is an injustice here. The injustice is aggravated in the case of undistributed profits. It is a cardinal necessity in the case of a small company fighting a tough uphill fight that it should employ its

profits in extending its buildings, plant, etc., and in generally strengthening its financial position. This is the only way to fight the big combine. It should be obvious that profits do not become a man's income until they are distributed to him. A company that does not distribute profits is not giving income to its owners. Such profits are nobody's income. On the contrary they may be invaluable as additional capital to a company consolidating itself behind a tariff wall and capable of giving extra employment. Yet the State puts the same tax on these profits as on the profits that are distributed to the owners (and not spent on factory extensions and increased employment). Irish capital which is fighting the battle of Irish industry deserves a fairer show. Preferential treatment would not only be just, but would bring some of the financial "Wild Geese" home to fight for their own country.

I have written enough, I hope, to show that tariffs cannot be rejected on general principle, that they are part of a larger complex problem, and that in themselves they involve endlessly complex reactions. The only reasonable way of examining their possibilities is to appoint a Tariff Commission.

It would be foolish, however, to saddle the Commission with complete responsibility for our industrial regeneration. Apart from those already mentioned there are innumerable other problems to be solved—general education; the elimination of the "inferiority complex"; the elimination of labour disputes; legislation as to national brands, etc.; federated marketing of agricultural produce; financial independence of London; the analysis of our much misunderstood Trade Balance; etc. The tariff is only one, and perhaps not the most important, of the weapons in our economic armoury.

JOHN BUSTEED.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

I

Dursan m'eactra go hAlbuin

For other published poems of the author, Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, cf. *Studies* 1919 March, 1920 Dec., and *Irish Monthly* 1920 Jan., April, May, Sept., 1921 Sept., 1923 Nov. The present poem was written in Scotland. Like many others of its author it is religious in tone.

Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, cct.

1. Dubhran m'eachtra go hAlbuin
[Dá] dtánag tuar iomarbuidh
ó mhin-Éirinn ghéig-the ghloin
réitche ri-Fhéilim Reachtmoir.

2. Do ghrádh an domhain diombuain
tánag tar tuinn thráicht-fhionn-fhuair
go fionn-Albuin thrá óm thaig
lá an iomarbuidh bhuidh huamhoin.

3. Eagail liom lá an trléibe
mar tánag tuar aithméile
lem dán luach-mholta tar lear
ó chlár ghruadh-corcra Gaoidheal.

4. Dhaoghlach leam a aghra orm
teacht go hAlbuin na n-ór-chonn
i gcrích fhaith-finn na ngort ngeal
ní chaithim corp an Choimdeadh.

5. Dar m'éirghe do meallad mé
dámad liom Alba uile
uch a Dhé mo lorg tar lionn
ir mé gan ord gan Airrionn.

6. Rugar dioga deimin leam
do chéigear ord ir Airrinn
ar n-éag gá dál ar docra
do grád na réad raogalta.

7. Dámad liom uile a hór bog
dá bfaguinn a bruil d'argod
i gcríc braon-uair na mbeann brionn
do b'fearr aon-uair an t-Airrinn.

8. Ní chreidinn Alba fa fíor
go dtig tonn d'fuil [an] Aird-fíog
fan abluinn mar ar dleacht dí
adhuim don reacht do rinne.

9. An gcuala Alba an feoir churr
ar imtig air fan abluinn
fear go nglór diabalaide doird
do flóg iarnaide Iorroirn.

10. An t-Íodal úd fáidim fid
do cuaid lá do na laichb
Go teac Dé re dearbad uile
fa neam-ghlan é ag a íodbairt.

11. Dá teampall mar cáinig rin
ar an altóir an uair-rin
do cí ré an abluinn ré air
adhuim don té dan teagdair.

12. Tré focuidmead don fear grád
do fiarfaig dia do diombád
réad ar n-adrad druim ar druim
chéad do b'addar don abluinn.

13. "Anuar eidir feoil ir fuil
tig go dearb" ar an deacain
"barr ór-buide taob mar cuinn
laog óg-Muire fan abluinn."

14. D'éiliuġaḋ cainte an ċléirigh
cuġ fáṫaḋ dian di-ċéillidh
dá fgiain ċaoil ġairḃ-ġil ġreanta
fan mbairġin ċaoiṁ ċoirreacta.

15. Ḃainne fola dfuim ar dfuim
tig an uair-rin ar an áḃluinn
mór bráid léir fiofraḋ an ċéim
dar báiḋ an t-Íoḃal ainn-féin.

16. A mbíoḋ innte i n-aġaiḋ Dé
do báiḋ fór fíor an finné
deiṁin liom ġur ṁuiġ a-mać
an fuil ór ċionn na caṫraċ.

17. Oirdeaḋ na marra-ro a-muiġ
do ċuir [fan] aḃluinn uarail
réala an ġráiḋ an bair do bean
dámaḋ áil lair do léigfeaḋ.

18. Mór dtír nać í Alba a-máin
nać creideann fór fáṫ toċráiḋ
don bairġin go mbí 'n-a fuil
'f í fa ainġlib 'n-a ṁomḋuiḋ.

19. Tánaġ fan tír nać aḋair
don aḃluinn ġil ġráfaṁail
mó do ṁeall an faoġal finn
baoġal 'n-a ċeann ní ċuirim.

20. Fearr beiṫ ṫiar ó tiġ go tiġ
do feirc naoṁ-ċuirr Dé dúilig
ná fíġe fa beiṫ a-bur
don breiṫ fíre do féaċar.

21. Ó nać faicim é innte
an corp diaḋa doi-ṁillte
fairċe ġrian-fuinn na nġéaġ ġcuir
iarruim ġan m'éaġ i nAlbain.

22. Do ṡeirc ċuirp ḟora d'ṡéaġain
ṙlán ó Albain úir-ġéaġaiġ
ṡairċe ṡiar na ndub-ċror ndonn
ṙiar dom dutċar go ndeaċam.

23. Ġuidim Mac Dé már deoin lair
dom breit go hÉirinn n-iat-ġlair
agus raor-Muire a rúil dil
a naoṁ-ġuide dúinn dliġtiṙ.

24. Ar dár ṡeacaiġ ran tír toir
bíod an Coimde dom ċodoir
'ṙ an óġ naoṁ buime na mboċt
craob daṙab duille an diadaċt.

25. Go brağam tar iomad m'olc
coim im deağaid tré dúṫroċt
dul ṙa a ġéağaib ir dleaċt daṁ
teaċt dá déağain ní durṙan.

26. Do ċaoi ṙeadar puirt nime
ṙa ṙáir an Uain ainġlide
uċán do ba ġéar a ġal
a ṙrután déar ní durṙan.

Durṙan.

Translation

1. Hard my journey to Alba whither I came—cause of woe!—from gentle bright warm-branched Eire, spouse of Féilim Reachtmhar.
2. For love of the fleeting world I come over the sea of white cold shores from my home to fair Alba; this on the Day of Woe shall terrify me.
3. I dread the Day of the Mount for coming—cause of sorrow!—with my gainful panegyrics overseas from the purple-faced land of the Gaoidhil.
4. I fear reproach for coming to Alba of the gold drink-horns; in this fair-flowered land of bright fields I receive not the Lord's Body.
5. By my art I swear I was misled; were all Alba mine, alas! O God, that I came overseas to be without Mass or clergy.
6. I have chosen, I know, the worse part; clergy and Mass I left behind for love of worldly treasures; what can grieve me more after death?
7. Had I all Alba's smooth gold and all the silver in this cool fresh land of fair peaks—better one Mass than it all!
8. Alba, alas! believes not as she should that the High-King's blood flows into the Host; but I hold by His ordinance.

9. Has smooth-grassed Alba heard what befell the man of Hell's iron folk, him who spoke a rough and devilish word about the Host?
10. That Jew I tell of went one day to God's House with intent to sin; unclean the offering he made!
11. Coming to God's Church, he sees the Host before him on the altar; I cleave by Him Whose dwelling that was.
12. In mockery he asked—what an insult!—the cleric of what was made the Host, the treasure ever adored.
13. "Into the Host in flesh and blood truly descends" said the deacon "Virgin Mary's Son, gold-bright hair and foam-white body."
14. To refute the cleric's word he strikes a strong wild blow of his sharp chased rough bright dagger into the fair consecrated Host.
15. A stream of blood then pours forth from the Host—many the sages attesting this—overwhelming the Jew.
16. It drowned—true is the witness—all God's foes in the city; I know it burst forth over the whole city.
17. Yon sea's volume of blood God placed in the noble Host; had He wished, He would have left unscathed the hand which struck that love-token.
18. Many a land besides Alba believes not—what a cause of grief!—in the Host that it is true blood and a throne with angels around it.
19. I came to the land which rejects the white grace-giving Host; the world had beguiled me overmuch; I say nought of (its) danger besides.
20. Better beg from door to door at home for love of the holy Body of the God of the elements than be a King while here; I recognise this judgment of truth.
21. As I see not in this sunny-earthed lawn of planted trees God's imperishable Body I pray I may not die in Alba.
22. Craving to see Jesus' Body, let me from fresh-branched Alba speed westward safely to my home, the valleyed land of dark crosses.
23. I pray God's Son if it be His Will, and noble Mary, Éire's fond hope—for I must pray her piously too—to bring me to green-fielded Eire.
24. From sinful death here may the Lord save me, and the holy Virgin nurse of the poor, the branch which bore the Godhead.
25. Spite of the multitude of my sins, may I by fervent piety win protection hereafter; I must flee to her arms; to go to see her is easy.
26. Peter, now in Heaven's haven, wept for the passion of the angelic Lamb; alas! bitter was his grief, but easy his flood of tears!

Notes

Text (the only extant one) is R. I. A. 23 I 40, p. 179, except for following readings:—

1 *b* dá not in MS.; dáinig *d* reiṫce go r. 2 *d* huaṁon. 4 *b* -ċoṁn. 5 *cd* linn: airrinn. 6 *b* leam *d* raogalta. 7 *c* bṁaonuaiṁ. 8 *b* an not in MS. 9 *c* noiabluig *d* fluag iarnuige irrinn. 10 *a* díobalid r. 12 *a* focuiṁe *c* r.nar adraḋ. 13 *b* deocuin. *c.* daoḃ. 14 *ab* éiliuga: rácha. 15 *a* bainde *b* ráiḋ, céim. 16 *c* linn. 17 *b* ar an. 18 *cd* fuil: iomḋuig. 20 *d* féċur. 21 *c* fairċe, gcuirr. 22 *d* ndeccom. 23 *a* leir *b* breiṫ rlan go, iaṫglair. 25 *d* réagnin.

L. McKenna.

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH

BY PROFESSOR JOHN HOWLEY, M.A., D.LITT.

BY Apostolic Letters of the 24th August, 1926, our Holy Father Pope Pius XI has declared St. John of the Cross a Doctor of the Universal Church. By this solemn act the Soverign Pontiff confers more than a mere title of honour on the great mystical doctor of Carmel; he authorises and consecrates with Apostolical authority that body of mystical doctrine which St. John gave through Carmel to the Catholic world. As the Doctorate of St. Alphonsus Liguori formed the counterpart to the Papal condemnations of rigorism and laxism in morals, the Doctorate of St. John of the Cross completes the Papal censures of quietism and false mysticism. The Church not merely condemns error, she indicates also the safe guides.

The Church rarely accords the title of Doctor of the Universal Church to those whom she honours as saints. In the first half millennium of her history she counts thirteen, and these giants of the stature of Athanasius, Ambrose and Augustine. In the second five centuries she reckons but four, and in the third but five. The thirteenth century, that golden age of Catholicism, gave her only Aquinas and Bonaventure. Since the revolt of Luther, including St. John of the Cross, we have only four. The Doctorate is a rare honour and requires, as our Holy Father, following Benedict XIV, reminds us, the fulfilment of three conditions: eminent sanctity, eminent doctrine, and the solemn declaration of the Roman Pontiff. It is almost a new canonization, for it is the recognition of one who has not merely edified the Church by his life and labours, but of one who has taught the Church Universal. It is therefore a much more

solemn approval of a saint's doctrine than that afforded by the ordinary process of canonization.

In the eminence of his sanctity St. John of the Cross illumines the sixteenth century as St. Francis glorified the thirteenth. With the exception of the Poverello, it would be difficult to find a more perfect imitation of Christ in His meekness and His sufferings. St. John not merely taught the Christ-life with a rigour which is a scalding terror to the tepid Christian, but lived it to a degree far exceeding his teaching. When Christ asked him to name his reward for his labours and sufferings, St. John's reply was: "Pati et contemni pro Te." Not merely did he endure without a murmur of body or mind the unjust violence of his brethern, a violence so excessive that St. Teresa feared for his life, but he freely chose when he knew he was dying to seek the charity of one whose bitter persecution of the Saint hardly halted at the open grave.

All through his life he so contrived to keep himself in obscurity that we have no really satisfactory biography. His writings tell us very little of himself. We know that he was the life and soul of the reform movement among the Carmelite friars, yet it is not St. John but his often very imperfect brethern who come into the limelight of history. Even the erudition of a Báruzi has added but few facts to our knowledge. We know a little more of his studies and masters at Salamanca, of the character and personages of his times, but that is all. The man remains hidden from us, save and so far as we can make inference from his writings. We know that he was small of stature, for when with a companion he came to St. Teresa, she said she had got only a friar and a-half to work for the reform. And we know too that he was gentle and meek, a supreme contrast to the typical Spaniard of his day, the antagonist and counterpart of the Elizabethen Englishman, as bloody and relentless as was Mountjoy or Carew.

Many of the Carmelites of the Mitigation, and some of the Reform to boot, were typical Spaniards. They saw St. Teresa, not as a saint, but as a very troublesome nun, an able and dangerous woman capable of setting the whole kingdom in a blaze, but to be handled cautiously, for she had powerful friends including even Philip II, a man whom it was unhealthy to anger. But they could take it out of her coadjutor, the mild friar, John of the Cross. There were no prying reporters then to find where a troublesome religious was kept in durance vile. They had hoodwinked the Nuncio, and stuffed him to the full with their views about that nuisance Teresa. To all appearance the reform was smashed, when a friend of St. Teresa, a Spanish noble with a very short temper, interviewed the Nuncio and spoke his mind so forcibly that the Nuncio complained to the King and demanded redress for the insult inflicted by one of his nobles on the Pope's representative. The King promised satisfaction and proceeded to give the Nuncio, in diplomatic language, a bit of *his* mind, with the very best results for St. Teresa's party. Thus the reform was saved by a piece of very unspiritual but typically Spanish violence. It was a strange age for saints to work in, a weird cradle for the contemplative life St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross were giving to the new Carmel.

One of the finest testmonies I have ever read to the work achieved by these two great saints is to be found in Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics* (Bk. IX., c. 1). Dean Inge, who himself is not quite free from a suppressed (?) No-Popery complex, says of the writer that "his hatred and contempt for the Roman Catholic Church often warp his judgment." Vaughan discusses the mystics, to the scandal of the Dean, over the walnuts and the wine, and so, *in vino veritas*, he gives us the following :—

In the alarm and wrath awakened by the Reformation, Rome was supremely concerned to enforce the doctrine of blind obedience

to ecclesiastical superiors. These Spanish saints lived and laboured and suffered to commend this dogma to the Church and to all mankind. Summoned by the Rule of Obedience, they were ready to inflict and to endure the utmost misery. Their natures were precisely of the kind most fitted to render service and receive promotion at that juncture. They were glowing and ductile. Their very virtues were the dazzle of the red-hot brand about to stamp the brow with slavery. Each excellence displayed by such accomplished advocates of wrong withered one of the rising hopes of mankind. Their prayers watered with poisoned water every growth of promise in the field of Europe. Their Herculean labours were undertaken, not to destroy, but to multiply the monsters which infested every highway of thought. Wherever the tears of Teresa fell, new weeds of superstition sprang up. Every shining austerity endured by John gilded another link in the chain which should bind his fellows. The jubilant bells of their devotion rang the knell of innumerable martyrs.

In contrast to this outburst of spleen we have the opinion of the latest critic of the great Spanish mystics, Professor E. Allison Peers, who thus concludes his masterly survey of St. John of the Cross in his recently published *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*[1] :—

We have ended, it would seem, upon a low note indeed, but as, in mediaeval phrase, we " send memory backward " to those masterpieces of prose and verse which have given to St. John of the Cross immortality as assured as that of Cervantes or Shakespeare, we may well gain from the contrast a fresh vision of his greatness. He has been compared, and well compared, to a soaring eagle ; his voice to the voice of an angel ; the similitudes express the effect that he makes upon all who read him. But if we use his own figure, we shall think of him rather as one who made the perilous ascent of that Mount Carmel which he portrayed in quaint outline in the manuscript book of the name. His way was beset with dangers and darkness ; the traveller on this steep road has even to pass through the very heart of the clouds, which from far below, upon the earth, resemble the goal of his endeavours, but in the attack which he makes upon them are as the Dark Night itself. Many a traveller up those slopes turns back as he approaches those clouds or is lost in them.

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[1] *Studies of the Spanish Mystics.* Vol. I, p. 287. (Sheldon Press. 1927. 18s. net.)

But above the clouds is St. John of the Cross, in those incomparable lyrics which are among the choicest treasures of all seekers everywhere after reality. To him it was given to transcend those mists and fogs which once may have seemed to overwhelm him, to stand on the very heights of Mount Carmel, and to view the mystic road along which he had come in all the radiance of an unclouded light. Only of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, among the mystics considered in this survey, can it be said with entire assurance that they write from the summit of the mountain, that they have entered the very heart of the furnace of love ;

> Teresa, soul of fire !
> John of the Cross, spirit of ardent flame !

The characterstic note of a Doctor of the Church is eminence of doctrine. The authority of St. John survived the terrible storm provided by quietist errors, a storm which all but washed out of existence the more mitigated mysticism of the Visitation, and diverted many a Carmel from contemplation. The " blacksmith director " had his innings for a while ; but the tide has turned, and we are now perhaps more in danger of a sickly sugar-stick pseudo-mysticism than of the arid three-point self-sermonising type of mental prayer. The Apostolic Letter gives us a safe guide ; we must get back to a doctrine, sweet to the mouth but bitter to digest, back to St. John of the Cross himself.

What precisely is the characteristic doctrine of St. John of the Cross ? I would venture to say it is the doctrine of *Total Conversion.* But you will object, this is the common doctrine of all spiritual writers. I agree if you mean the total conversion of the heart, but with St. John it includes the total conversion of both mind and heart, and that without compromise or mitigation. It is the total orientation of our whole being towards its Creator and away from everything that is not God. He has analysed this set of the mystic's soul in terms so resolutely negative as not merely to disconcert the ordinary reader, but even to lead an erudite and philos-

ophical scholar like Baruzi into a complete misapprehension of St. John's system. The Reformer of Carmel is no acosmic idealist questing the experience of a neutral absolute in the resolute denial of all the given of experience and of experience itself. His *via negativa* is not so much an aversion from the creature as a conversion to the Creator; the adhesion to God by pure and naked faith is the very essence of mystical experience, the root reality of contemplation, the treasure to purchase which the merchant must sell all that he hath. The studied oblivion of all that is not God is not the fundamental activity of the mystic; the effort to find Him by the most pure faith is. The adhesion to God by faith is the basic position, the positive element underlying all St. John's devastating negations. The two following extracts from Letter X will illustrate this point:—

In order then to annihilate and mortify the desire of sensible pleasure in things that are not God, your reverence will observe that everything in which the will can have a distinct joy is sweet and delectable, because pleasant in its eyes, but there is no delectable thing in which it can have joy and delight in God, for God is not cognisable by the apprehensions of the other faculties, and therefore not by the pleasure and desires of the will. In this life, as the soul cannot taste of God essentially, so all the sweetness and delight of which it is capable, and however great they may be, cannot be God, for whatever the will takes pleasure in and desires as a distinct thing, it desires so far as it knows it to be that which it longs for. For as the will has never tasted of God, nor even known Him under any apprehension of the desire, and therefore comprehends Him not, so by its taste it can never know Him; its very being, desire and taste, can never desire God, because He is above and beyond all its powers.

The soul, then, that is to advance straightaway unto God, and to be united with Him, must keep the mouth of the will open, but only for God Himself, in detachment from every morsel of desire, in order that God may fill it with His own love and sweetness; it must hunger and thirst after God alone, seeking its satisfaction in nothing else, seeing that in this life it cannot taste Him as He is. That which may be tasted here, if there be a desire for it, hinders the taste of God.

Thus the quest of God is primary, the removal of obstacles secondary in the Saint's mind. As a practical director of contemplatives he was obliged to lay stress on the secondary element, for in so high and delicate a work as mystical contemplation the least obstacle may prove most formidable. He has left us the most perfect, because the most ruthless and uncompromising, analysis of all that can hold back the soul in its flight to God. He shows that to the soul called to mystical union with God the appropriation even of the most celestial favours is a grave fault and stumbling block. Visions and revelations are not to be desired or dwelt on.

> The spiritual director must be therefore careful not to make his penitent narrow-minded by attaching any importance to these supernatural visitations; for they are nothing else but the motes of the Spirit, and he who shall give his attention to these alone will in the end have no spirituality at all. Yea, rather let him wean him from all visions and locutions, and guide him into the liberty and darkness of faith, where he shall receive of the abundance of the Spirit, and consequently the knowledge and understanding of the words of God. (*Ascent of Carmel*, Bk. II., c. 19, par. 13).

Nearly all the manuals of mystical theology devote long chapters to the discernment and evaluation of these "motes of the Spirit," not to speak of the biographers of mystics. Let us hope, now that St. John of the Cross has been proclaimed a Doctor of the Universal Church, that his doctrine in this matter will get more attention from Catholic writers and from the Directors of contemplatives. If St. John's doctorate only means the steady discouragement of all visionaries by their spiritual guides in the future, it will be a pure gain by itself.

St. John's negativism, however, is more than a mere practical process in mystical ascesis; it is the plenary psychological expression of that *analogia entis*[1] which is the root doctrine of Thomism. Modern philosophers

[1] Being is predicated not univocally but by analogy of God and creatures. As God revealed it to St. Catherine of Sienna, "I am He Who Is, thou art she who is not."

who reject this doctrine, like Báruzi, see only in St. John a negative dialectic leading to an Absolute much more akin to the *materia prima* of St. Thomas than to his *Actus Purus*. Dionysius the Areopagite built in Athens an altar to the Unknown God. Converted by St. Paul he raised or inspired a more perdurable altar in his *Mystica Theologia* and *Divine Names*. Through these two works comes the doctrine of the *Agnosia* with its philosophical correlative the *analogia entis*, dominating the School down to the times of Suarez and even of Descartes. Unlike the great Schoolmen very few to-day accept the authenticity of the *Divine Names* and the *Mystica Theologia ;* yet in them, whoever was their author, we get the foundations of the chief doctrines of the *Summa* and the corner stone of all mystical theology.

As poet and writer St. John of the Cross is one of the glories of the Spanish tongue ; as philosopher and theologian he is the heir of the Areopagite and of the Angel of the schools and has enlarged their kingdom, bringing psychology into the very presence of the Most High and morals to their ultimate abyss in the Divine Union. On this earth he directed and inspired one of the most remarkable groups of mystics in the history of the Church, and now, in glory, as Doctor of the Universal Church he will continue to lead souls up to the Inaccessible Light until time shall be no more.

John Howley.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CELTS

BY REV. PATRICK POWER, D.LITT., M.R.I.A.
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WHILE people write and talk so glibly of Celtic atmospheres and of Celtic fringes, few seemingly can give an intelligible or, at least, intelligent answer to the question: Who were the Celts? There are not many ethnologic problems upon which we have more vague, misleading and contradictory statements than on the question of Celtic origins, affinities, identities and survivals. We might indeed almost style our problem—The Mystery of the Celts. Much of the indefiniteness and nearly all the mystery are owing to the fact that writers have been borrowing exclusively from literary and historical sources. The data so gathered they have blended with a little philology and seasoned with a fact or two of anthropology, and the result has passed, or has been offered, as the story of the Celts.

From the nature of the case it is pretty plain that neither history nor philology can very much help the student of Celtic origins. It is to archaeology he must apply for the light to pierce the Celtic mist. A scratched stone, an unglazed potsherd, a layer of charcoal, a heap of oyster shells or a fragment of bronze becomes a document to the archaeologist, furnishing him with data more reliable than those by which the historian swears. Hence to-day, thanks to the patient labour of such scholars as Déchelette, Rice Holmes, Fleure, Obermayer and Peake, a bridge has been thrown across the chasm which till a few years since, cut us off from the prehistoric. Half a century ago we knew nothing of the Celts beyond what Caesar and a few other classical writers had been pleased to tell us. Be it noted, by the way, that the classical writers in question are as much confused and

confusing as the moderns in their use of the word Celt. Sometimes they restrict it to the population of Gaul or even to a moiety only of the Gauls; again, they extend it to all the peoples of mid-western Europe, and yet again they style Celts even the Germanic and northern tribes.

Let me illustrate, be it in ever so small a way, the archaeologist's method. There is a type of bronze sword which, from its outline, we call "leaf-shaped." This weapon we find to be more or less peculiar to the parts of Europe known as the Celtic region, but its distribution therein is very uneven. Where it is found in greatest numbers, or where there is evidence of development from more simple forms, we conclude to be the place of origin or invention. Thence the archaeologist follows the leaf-shaped sword, in ever-decreasing finds, along ancient lines of conquest or migration—generally along river valleys, the earliest highways. As he pursues his trail, our archaeologist notes all peculiarities and associations of the "find." No clue comes amiss to him; he is the Sherlock Holmes of Science. From his observations of associated objects he is able to say whether the distribution of his sword be the result of war, peaceful penetration or colonisation.

Speaking in a general way, we may define our Celts as a race which grew up in Central Europe as a result of fusion of Alpine broadheads with the older aboriginal population. To make the definition intelligible to the lay mind some little explanation is necessary. A broad, or brachycephalic, skull is a head which has a cephalic index of more than eighty per cent.—that is, the proportion of such a head's width to its length is as eighty to one hundred. The dolichocephalic head, on the other hand, has a skull narrow in proportion to its length; hence we style its possessor a longhead. More than twenty centuries before the Christian era a broad-headed race coming into Europe from the East forced its way, like

a gigantic wedge, across the continent and severed into two sections the indigenous long-headed population. Thenceforth the racial division of Europe appears to be into three parts—a southern long-headed, a central broad-headed, and a northern long-headed. The central mountain chain of the continent, its foothills and the adjacent plains became the habitat of the broad-heads, and it was in the Hungarian plain that the fusion or union was effected of which the offspring was the Celt. Mr. Peake makes a distinction—pretty obvious in any case—between Celtic Cradle and Celtic Lands. The former would embrace most of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire with the whole region of the Alps and a fringe of the Balkans. Under the head of Celtic Lands we include, in addition to the Celtic Cradle just described, all Gaul, the British Islands, Northern Spain, the Plain of Lombardy, Switzerland, Bavaria and the adjoining regions of Germany. To these add the isolated Kingdom of Galatia in Asia Minor and a settlement or two in Thrace. It was a region of vast extent—surpassed in area only by the subsequent Empire of Rome.

Modern investigation has established that in palaeolithic times—far beyond the remotest bound of history—Europe was occupied by various ancient races known to Science by such names as Chelleans, Acheulians, Aurignacians and Magdalenians—all long-headed, and all probably of immediate African origin. Into details of the various palaeolithic invasions or the varied cultures with which they are associated it is not necessary for us to enter further than to state that the Aurignacian stock appears to have become the main element in the aboriginal population of Europe. Culturally the stock may be and is variously subdivided; ethnologically we distinguish it into three branches—the Negroid-Mentone, the Cro-Magnon and the Combe-Chapelle, which had all, according to the best modern authorities, developed by 11,000 B.C. Students of Anthropology will observe

that, notwithstanding their clearly-marked differences of culture, I am classifying Solutrians and Magdalenians as, provisionally, of Aurignacian descent. Apparently this aboriginal stock had entered Europe from the East, and probably it had found its way into Africa from Asia *via* the Sinaitic Peninsula.

About 7,000 B.C., or somewhere between that date and 6,500 B.C., when tundras were giving way to the forest stage, a second African population wave, the Capsian, swept into Europe across the Mediterranean. This, like its predecessor, was a wave of long-headed men. It advanced up through Spain and into the future Celtic Lands, bearing with it the culture called Tardenoisian. The present-day Mediterranean peoples, dark of skin and comparatively low of stature, are in the main descended from these Capsians. It was evidently Capsian offspring which overflowed into the British Islands and which, a couple of thousand years later, formed the main element of our population when the Celts arrived. Popular writers call these aboriginals of Britain, Iberians, a name to which exception is frequently taken. And what is wrong with the name? It does not sound, or seem, a bad name. Anyhow, we shall have to use it till we are offered a better.

Everything points to the conclusion that this second Capsian invasion of Europe was on a somewhat extensive scale; it affected the culture of the continent and left its mark on the physical character of the population. At a later age its speech was strong enough to influence the language of the subsequent broadheads. Sir John Morris Jones has shown that the peculiarity of Irish syntax, which distinguishes Irish from all the tongues of its group, is common to ancient Egyptian and the various Berber languages of North Africa.

Following our ethnologic trail down the millennia we next meet, within the Celtic Cradle, a distinctive people, whom—again for want of a better name—scientists

are calling Offnet, from the place where the remains of this unfamiliar folk were first noticed. These Offnets are brachycephalic—the first broadheads we meet with in Europe. They had evidently arrived from the East *via* Armenia, and had settled in the Upper Danube region by middle of the sixth millennium, B.C. In their Upper Danube home they mated with the indigenous Combechapelle—Aurignacians, and their progeny received modification, two thousand years later, from further hordes of immigrant broadheads from Asia. So far, be it noted, metal is unknown, although the latest incomers build crannogs, keep cattle and cultivate corn. The broadhead invasion had not, however, been quite completed when the knowledge of metal arrived—to mark an epoch in the story of man and work a revolution in his life.

We may pause here for a moment to take stock of the racial elements within the Celtic Cradle at the beginning of the Bronze Age. The more recently arrived broadheads occupy the central mountain zone, where they live in sheltered valleys and cultivate their clearances, growing not only grain but such simple fruits as the apple, plum and cherry. They are mostly of peaceful habits and strongly attached to their glens and mountains. Ripley's summary of the present-day Alpine mentality might very well stand for the Alpinist's early predecessors: "A certain passivity and patience is a characteristic of the Alpine peasantry. As a rule the Alpine makes a comfortable and contented neighbour, a resigned and peaceful subject. The most persistent attribute of the Celt is his extreme attachment to the soil or, perhaps better, to locality."

Not only do our broadheads hold the mountains, but they, in the personality of their Offnet kinsmen, occupy a considerable area of the Hungarian plain. The chief inhabitants of the plain are, however, the earlier Combe-Chapelles of Aurignacian stock. These latter were, as

we have seen, a dolichocephalic population, hardier or at least more warlike and adventurous than the Alpine. We can hardly conceive our Combe-Chapelle folk as being exterminated by their unwarlike conquerors, who owing to their higher culture were able to dispossess them at least temporarily. Rather the Alpine element, as represented by the Offnet and allied folk, interbred with the Combe-Chapelle race, and the fusion resulted in some reduction of cephalic index on the one side and in a corresponding increase on the other.

We have not yet quite done with invasions, colonies and new peoples. Scarcely had the fusion recorded in the last paragraph been completed when there appeared within the Celtic cradle-land certain longheaded, horse-riding and aggressive intruders, who had pushed their way from the northeast into the heart of the Hungarian plain. The newcomers, fairly strong in numbers, would appear to have assumed and won some sort of lordship over the agricultural broadheads and mezzocephalics within the Mountain Zone. When the mixture of this intruding nordic element with the Combe-Chapelle plus Offnet plus brachycephalic peoples had been effected, the evolution of the Celt was completed. For thorough fusion of the human materials many centuries—perhaps a millennium—would have been required. With the data available it is impossible to estimate the respective proportions of brachycephalic and dolichocephalic that went to complete the amalgam. The proportions would naturally vary very much in different localities, from (say) ninety per cent. Alpine broadhead within the mountains to ten per cent. or less in the plain ; in either case a more or less uniform type would evolve in the course of centuries. Obviously it is impossible also to specify even approximately, when exactly the formal evolution of the new race was perfected. Such perfection or completion can hardly ever have been more than a psychological conception ; indeed there is hardly such a thing in the world as a pure

race. No sooner have environmental conditions combined to produce a race than other conditions—migrations, conquest, commerce, and even nature—are at work to disintegrate it. Like the waves of the water races are forever forming and forever breaking up.

When the Celts finally emerge into the light of history they are a well recognised and distinctive European people, even though their habitat is not very definitely known. The earliest Greek writers to mention them—that is if we have not indirect reference to them in Homer—are Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 540 B.C.) and Herodotus (c. 490 B.C.). Three centuries earlier than Hecataeus, however, we can recognise the Celts, in their art, at Halstatt. Halstattian Art is really a modification or development, under classical influences, of an earlier aboriginal design largely geometric and lifeless in character. It is significant that, as Déchelette pertinently observes, the regions in which the art objects are most abundantly found coincide exactly with the areas in which ancient iron workings (mines and forges) are most in evidence. The richness of the Celtic cradle-land in iron gave its occupiers a great advantage, both material and moral, as soon as methods of ore reduction and smelting came to be understood. The French Department of Côte d'Or (capital, Dijon), which is particularly rich in early iron works, has yielded the most important Iron Age tombs.

The Celtic smithies became so celebrated that they were heard of in Rome, which indeed begat a dread of the Celtic smith. Caesar, by the way, notes the excellent forging of Celtic anchors. According to Varro, a Roman writer both reliable and learned, the coat-of-mail was of Celtic invention. Of Celtic origin too were various war engines, which even Caesar learned to respect. Amongst the fighting engines aforesaid were four-wheeled chariots, a chariot armed with scythes, the tumbril armed with teeth, and the wimble armed with spiral screw and known to the Romans as *terebra Gallica*. From the Celts too,

as MacNeill observes, the Romans borrowed the names of almost all their wheeled vehicles—*carrum*, *carpentum esseda*, *rheda* and *petorritum*. A chariot-building people are, almost necessarily, roadmakers, and there is not any more crucial test of civilisation than a nation's roads.

We have now available a fairly ample mass of material from which to reconstruct the story of Celtic expansion and conquest. Fortunately, it is no part of our present scheme to trace that story in detail. Suffice it here to quote the salient facts.

By close of the sixth century B.C. the Celts had overflowed into Gaul. According to Livy they had already, by that date, entered Italy ; but it is probable that this statement of the Roman historian requires qualification. Owing to their record by Polybius we know much more about the fourth century Italian than we do about the other conquests of the Celts. In 390 the Celts under Brennus sacked Rome. As far as we can at present glean, the period of Celtic expansion in Europe was from the seventh to the third century B.C. The dates at which Northern Spain and the British Isles were invaded are somewhat uncertain. From the mixture therein of Celts and Iberians the north area of Spain came to be known as Celtiberia, and recent archaeological investigation within this region has brought to light several necropoli and at least one fortified town of the Ibero-Celts. The evidence available points to the fact that formal expansion into the British Isles was comparatively late—somewhat about the beginning of the Early Iron Age, say middle of the fourth century B.C.

About the commencement of the fourth century B.C. begins Celtic expansion or conquest on the East with what is known to scholars as the " Irruptio Gallorum." In the first quarter of the third century Celtic hordes appeared in Macedonia and Thrace, overrunning and plundering these ancient lands. One of the invading armies or bands, under the leadership of another Brennus,

marched against Delphi. Yet another body forced its way across the Danube, established a colony to the north of that river, and threatened the Greek cities of Pontus. A third Celtic host, 15,000 strong, having burned Byzantium, founded a permanent settlement at Tylis in Thrace. Nor was Celtic military activity confined to Europe. In 277 Nicomedes takes three battalions of Celts into his pay, and by their aid he makes himself King of Bithynia. Next year the mercenaries are busy on their own account; they wrest territory from the Phrygians and Cappodocians, and establish an independent kingdom which survived for some centuries under the name of Galatia.

The Celtic colonisation of the British Isles has been the subject of much conjecture and of no little controversy. In this connection Professor MacNeill has noticed a very curious phenomenon—the lack, in historic times, in both Ireland and Scotland and, presumably, also in Wales, of any national consciousness of Celtic origin. In fact up to the seventeenth century and the time of Buchanan, the Irish at any rate believed themselves to be anything rather than Celtic. Recovery of Celtic consciousness is of only comparatively recent date; also, it may be styled somewhat artificial. The disagreement of authorities concerning Celtic origins and date is in no small measure due to what logicians know as *ignorantia elenchi*—itself the result of inexact definition. All are not agreed as to the proper meaning of the word "Celt"; one writer would apply it only to the fully developed Alpine—Nordic amalgam, a second would extend it to the half-fused stocks, and a third would include under the term even the independent original stocks from the union of which the new race afterwards emerged. The yet unmixed stocks in question are regarded by writers of our third class as potential Celts. When these writers speak of Celts in the continental, or even Aegean, Bronze Age, they are probably well aware we have not a scrap of evidence that there were formal Celts at so early a time;

their Celts are simply the raw materials out of which the Celts developed.

There is no good reason to doubt that, during the centuries of the British Bronze Age, as during the centuries before and after, there was a more or less constant dribble into these islands of visitors from the continent—merchants, adventurers, fugitives, mercenaries, captives, and others. Students from Gaul are stated to have come in search of druidical lore, and Phoenicians from Carthage, Utica and Gades in quest of gold. Of these visitors we may assume that some stayed in Ireland and that many left descendants in the country. The statements then that the Celts began to arrive about 1,000 B.C. or that they did not come till the Christian era are not so irreconcilable as they at first seem. Much depends on what exactly the writer means by Celts. At any time within the millennium and a half B.C. the materials out of which the Celts evolved were in the melting-pot, and at any time within that period the alloy might in a loose sort of way be called Celtic. Certainly it is beyond the genius of man to fix the year or even, perhaps, the century in which formal Celticisation was effected.

People who find it hard to realise that extensive migrations could take place at so early a date should bear in mind that even many centuries earlier than the time with which we are concerned there was considerable trading intercourse between the various peoples of Europe. Well-recognised trade routes crossed the continent from north to south and from east to west. It is not necessary to suppose that the merchants of (say) the Aegean came into direct personal contact with the amber-brokers of the Baltic. What probably did happen was that the goods passed from tribe to tribe, or from nation to nation, along the road. No doubt there were professional traders, but their activities seem to have been largely restricted to their own countries; their respective tribal or national frontiers marked the termini of their direct operations.

They bought from a foreigner at one frontier and sold to another foreigner at the other. The essential thing was that the merchandise found its way to the terminus of the route, although the Greek who handled the amber at Massilia, Tarentum or Syracuse had only the vaguest idea whence came the precious stuff.

The most important of the European trade channels was the central transcontinental road known as the Amber Route. This started from north of the Adriatic and ran through Noricum, *via* the basins of the Moldau and the Elbe, to the Baltic. Its course lay, therefore, through the very heart of the Celtic cradle-land. It was apparently along this route that the older spiral motive found its way from Italy to Scandinavia and thence to Ireland. The importance of this amber route was enhanced by the fact that, about midway in its course, the Danube put it in touch with the Euxine, on one hand, and with the valley of the Rhine on the other. In Celtic times proper, this route might, with equal propriety, be called the *Iron* or the *Salt* route, because it tapped the iron mines of Noricum and the saltworks of Hungary—both within the Celtic region.

Another Adriatic route of first rate importance, from our immediate standpoint, struck up the valley of the Po, then *via* Ticino and the Swiss lakes, to the Basin of the Rhone. This appears to have been the route of the Argonauts, and it is referred to by Hecataeus. Upon it lay the important Celtic station—probably a kind of customs house—of La Tène and another similar station, still more important, at Châlon-sur-Saône, the ancient Cabillonum. From Cabillonum there was a long porterage of some forty miles to the headwaters of the Seine, up and down which floated the merchandise of Britain. The route for Ireland is not so clear; possibly it was *via* the Loire and its tributaries. It may seem strange that it is rather *via* the Adriatic and Helvetia than through the apparently more convenient port of Marseilles

that the southern influence operated upon the Celts. The explanation seems to be that the lower Rhone valley was held for a long time by a non-Celtic stock, the Ligures, hostile to trade and alien influences, or at any rate not sympathetic therewith.

Towards the year 200 B.C. we find, in N.E. Gaul, a considerable disturbance of population consequent on the advance from beyond the Rhine of tribes of Belgae, a people differing in some respect from the Gauls proper. Much mystery has been created to enshroud this new people—mystery as dense almost as that which has been made to envelope the Celts themselves. The character and origin of the Belgae are now fairly well understood; the people were half Celtic, half Germanic—Germanised Celts or Celticised Germans, such a mixed race as forms on national frontiers. By the evidence of burials and grave furniture we are able to trace, in a general way, the advance and distribution of the Belgae to west of the Rhine. At the time of Caesar they occupied nearly a third of Gaul, their most prominent tribes being the Morini, the Menapii, the Nervi, Eburones, Remi and Treveri. Three or four of the Belgic peoples seem to have crossed the Channel and made settlements in Britain —the Parisii, the Atrebates (only slightly Belgic), and the Belgae who at the period of the Roman invasion occupied the region embraced within the present countries of Wilts and Somerset. At least one Belgic tribe, the Menapii, seems to have worked its way into Ireland. Ptolemy (or is it his commentators?) places them on the east coast, although Waterford writers of the seventeenth century were wont to style their native city, "*Urbs Menapiensis.*" Caesar describes the Belgae as the most warlike and least civilised of the Gauls; he tells us likewise that, so great was their dread of southern culture and its enervating effects, they forbade all trade with strangers. Archaeology verifies Caesar's statements; the graves of the Belgae are poorer and ruder in tomb

furniture than the graves of the Gauls who preceded them and whom they dispossessed.

Towards the close of the second century B.C., perhaps as a result of contact with Italy and Greek cities of the Mediterranean, there appears to have taken place among the Celts a notable growth of town life. Crannog villages and primitive stockaded homesteads developed into something like fortified towns. The tourist of to-day who motors through the Irish midlands will not fail to notice how frequently the gravel ridges and limestone bluffs are crowned by prehistoric earthworks. Similar encampments (as they are locally called) are found, in like situations, on the Wiltshire and other English Downs. Strongly fortified towns of the Gauls were found by Caesar upon similar points of vantage. Other towns, less strongly or not all fortified, were situated in the plains ; the Romans burned twenty of them, all within the territory of the Bituriges, in a single day. Again the Helvetii, before setting out on their famous trek into the heart of Gaul, set fire to twelve of their own towns and to some four hundred villages.

Caesar mentions by name several Celtic " oppida," some of which, like Bibracte, Alesia, Gergovia and Avaricum, have been recently excavated with interesting results. Bibracte, known later to the Romans by whom it was rebuilt as Augustodunum, was the capital of the Aedui, It stood on a steep plateau, and its walls, some three-and-a-half miles in circumference, were flanked by over a hundred towers. These walls, of great strength, were not of masonry but of tree trunks mixed with stones and earth. Students of Caesar's *Commentaries* will remember that the great council of the Gauls which conferred the supreme leadership upon Vercingetorix met in front of this place. Careful investigations, at Mount Beuvray, have brought to light the foundations of the town buried in fields and woods. Regarding Bibracte as a typical Celtic oppidum, we may glean from its plan,

style and incidental remains much that will serve us in our study of Celtic culture. The dwellings, of uniform plan, were of wood and stone cemented with clay, and the angles were of granite. To withstand the rigours of winter at so great an altitude very many of the houses were partly underground, and the entrance to these was by a series of steps from the street. The floors were of earth beaten hard and sometimes with broken tiles worked in. The final abandonment of Bibracte was deliberate and wholesale; hence the explorations do not yield as many culture objects as we might expect. The Roman bath had been introduced, but there is no trace of sculpture; carved figures, however—supposing there were any—would probably have been taken away in the exodus. On the other hand, there were found workshops of various metal-casters, smiths and enamellers, with tools of bronze and iron, fragments of pottery and vases painted in geometric patterns. Most significant of all were great numbers of coins—gold, silver and bronze, 1,597 pieces in all, of various types. The diversity of types is of special importance; it indicates that several Celtic tribes had coinage of their own.

It may be objected that, as the Aedui were the Gallic tribe most closely in touch with Rome, attached thereto also by ties of friendship and alliance, their city does not afford a fair index of Celtic municipal life. Alesia, however, in the territory of the Mandubii and Gergovia in that of the Averni resemble Bibracte in situation and culture indications. Both *oppida* are pitched on hilltops with strong natural defences. The site of Alesia was discovered through the efforts of Napoleon III. in 1861; among the interesting finds was a tramway with parallel tracks cut in the rock for rails.

Mention of Celtic *oppida* inevitably suggests allusion to La Tène, the classic example of a recovered Celtic settlement. La Tène seems, as has been already noted, rather a station—half-military, half-customs—than a

normal town. Its site, on the shore of Lake Neuchâtel is remarkable as the place where the peculiar style of art known as Late Celtic was first recognised. Objects decorated in this distinctive fashion were first found here in quantity—swords, lances, fibulae, etc. Already by 1907, when the work of excavation was formally taken over by the Swiss Government, there had been found one hundred swords, two hundred lance heads, a considerable quantity of fibulae, besides numbers of hatchets, knives, gouges, chisels, saws, sickles, horse-trappings, a chariot wheel, bone needles, part of a gold collar and many coins.

In illustration of archaeology's methods in the investigation of racial problems allusion has been made to such culture motives as the leaf-shaped sword as clues towards illumination. The point will bear amplification. Our leaf-shaped sword, which is of bronze and which originated in the Celtic cradle, is found in five or six main patterns. Its evolution from the primitive dagger must have been completed about 1,500 B.C., though introduction of the weapon into these islands would naturally not have taken place till some two or three centuries later. From the geographical distribution of this sword we are able to trace the colonies which for conquest or adventure streamed out from the original Celtic home. Small bodies—predatory or nomadic—faced northward towards the Baltic. Another stream burst south-east and passed on to the present Bosnia. Possibly the Early-Iron-Age cemetery of Halstattian affinity, recently discovered at Glasinatz in Bosnia, is a monument of this invasion. Contemporary with the last, or somewhat thereabout, was a second exodus to the East, and of this the Achaean invasion of Greece was apparently a back-wash. A century or so later, when a slightly different patterned sword has come into use, another emigrant wave swept north and west from the Hungarian plain. It entered Gaul by the Belfort Gap, and spreading itself over most of the country reached Great Britain

and, apparently, even Ireland. The Dorians of the Greek invasion were evidently a side wave from an eastern stream corresponding in date to the western just recorded.

A little subsequent to these last waves an event of first rate importance in our study took place. This was the advent into the Celtic cradle-land of a people small in numbers but big in potentiality and in destiny, because they brought with them the knowledge of iron. For want of a better name archaeology calls these newcomers Koban folk. Somewhere about the Koban region, in south east Russia, where they had obtained a footing, they came in contact with an otherwise insignificant folk who seem to have been the first forgers—if not indeed the discoverers—of iron. On their return to the home land the Koban folk turned their iron swords against the peaceful dwellers therein, and these latter were forced to trek westward in the wake of their own western-bound emigrants of two or three centuries earlier. Some of these (latest) Bronze Age migrants reached the British Isles, but the majority dispersed themselves throughout Gaul.

The Celts, who in their day had extended their sway over half Europe, fell easily enough before the Roman Legions and Caesar's genius. Lack of national unity was their undoing. They were overcome tribe by tribe. First the Senones were defeated, then the Boii and the Insubres—all in 191 B.C. Two years later Manlius Valso turned Galatia into a Roman Province. Gaul was entirely Roman by 50 B.C., and the Danube regions—Rhetia and Pannonia, with Noricum and Illyria—followed a few years later. Finally Agricola conquered Britain, A.D. 85. Ireland alone, of all the once wide Celtic Empire, remained untouched; and thus it came about that in Ireland there survived till the twelfth, and perhaps to the seventeenth century the last trace of the national independence of a people whose renown once filled the world.

P. Power.

A GREAT IRISH INDUSTRY

Messrs. Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd.

BY ANDREW E. MALONE

II—Organisation, Management and Control [1]

THE most important feature about the firm of Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd., after the insistence upon the quality of the article manufactured, is the fact that it was one of the earliest industrial concerns to adopt the departmental system of organisation. By that system every part of the business was separated and controlled as if it were a definite thing in itself, and not part of something that was different and much bigger. In point of fact there are many parts of the Guinness organisation which are not very markedly parts of a brewery, but all were necessary if the business was to be under single control from the supply of the raw materials to the delivery of the finished product. In addition to the actual work of brewing stout and porter, there is all the work connected with the maintenance of a big industrial plant, the care of buildings and machinery, the supply of light and power, the making of casks, the printing of labels, and the economic utilisation of by-products. How extensive and varied all these are may be seen by a glance at the people employed by the firm.

In the list will be found engineers of every kind, draftsmen, electricians, fitters, pattern-makers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, iron-moulders, and many others. The maintenance of the premises necessitates the employment of bricklayers, plasterers, painters, glaziers, carpenters, joiners, plumbers, and a small army of cleaners male and

[1] For Part I see issue of September, 1926.

female. Then there are compositors, printing mechanics, book-binders, coopers, coachbuilders, saddlers, motor mechanics, veterinary surgeons, horse-keepers, medical officers, nurses, dentists, inspectors of several kinds, maltsters, brewers, and a fire brigade and first-aid equipment. Thus it will be seen that in a well-equipped brewery every aspect of human endeavour is just as much needed as in any other industry that is well-equipped and well organised. Without departmental control, in which every section of the work is almost self-contained, such a vast undertaking might easily degenerate into complete chaos in a very short time.

Yet it is at this very point of specialisation of function and control that so many Irish industries fail so markedly. It was boasted in recent years by an Irish industrialist that he not only managed the business in which he was engaged, but that he also did the designing of the materials, the dyeing, the secretarial and accountancy work, and the travelling salesmanship. It must be obvious that such a variety of talent, and such an amount of work, are rarely within the capacity of a single individual. Yet that is the normal in Irish industrial organisation at present. And that, too, is the type of business organism that clamours persistently for protective tariffs. But it is plain that that type of business organism, and the mentality that goes with it, must be eliminated before even the highest tariff can be effective. The great expansion of the Guinness business dates from the introduction of the departmental system, and it may be remarked that the most successful business institutions of America, England, and Germany are all organised upon the same system. In that system an expert will be in control of each branch of the industry, there will be no jack-of-all-trades tinkering about in a state of perpetual muddle. There will be order, direction, control, and economy of means to end. There will in fact be an application of the idea of division of labor.

In the Guinness organisation the centre of the system is found in the office of the Managing Director, who is invariably a brewer of long acquaintance with the business he directs. It was during the Managing-Directorship of the late C. D. La Touche that the system was perfected, but changes and modifications are made as conditions vary and circumstances warrant. Every department is connected by private telephone with the Managing Director's office, and anything that may require his attention or that of his assistants may be submitted immediately. But every Departmental Manager has a special day in each week set apart when he is required to interview the Managing Director and to submit a Report on the working of his Department during the preceding week, and in addition to seek the opinion of the Managing Director upon any point of administration where that opinion may be needed. Upon the day before that appointed for the interview the Weekly Report and the Agenda to be discussed must be sent to the Managing Director's office, so that everything may be in readiness for the interview at the stipulated time. These Weekly Reports are continuing documents, that is the points to be discussed are brought forward from week to week until they are disposed of by Board Order or Board Memorandum as their nature requires. For example, it may be supposed that a department requires more space for its proper functioning. This is first brought up on the Weekly Report and will be passed to the Head Engineer for his report. He will report not only upon the immediate matter but also upon what structural or other changes may be necessary, with a detailed estimate of the cost. When the Managing Director, the Departmental Manager and the Head Engineer are all satisfied, the work will be ratified by Board Memorandum and the work will be undertaken by the Engineering Department and charged to the Department for which it is done. In this way everything of importance connected with the

business comes directly under the supervision of the Managing Director in writing every week. The position of the workers, clerical and manual, is reviewed in a special report presented by each department annually. Upon this special annual report depends the increases in salaries and wages which are outside the regular automatic scales, as well as the promotions and pensionings which are made at the end of each year. Any employee who may have been on sick leave for six months or more is dealt with in a special quarterly report presented by the Chief Medical Officer, who recommends either the continuance of the person on the sick list if there be hope of resumption of work, or pensioning if the case be considered chronic. That is the normal routine, but in any case of emergency the Managing Director may be consulted at once by telephonic appointment.

Next in order of importance is the Head Brewer, who is not only the Manager of the Brewhouse Department but is also in control of many of the most important functions of the business. For instance, it is the Head Brewer who recommends the raw materials to be purchased, and for that purpose he relies mainly upon the reports of the laboratories where the samples are all tested and the results tabulated. The final decision, of course, rests with the Managing Director, or the Board, but for all practical purposes it is the Head Brewer who makes the decision. It is the Head Brewer also who determines the composition of the day-to-day brewings, but here again he is aided by the reports from the laboratories. It might be said that the eyes of the Head Brewer are the laboratories, and that his hands are the staff of brewers and foremen who actually carry out the work under his direction. Throughout the entire twenty-four hours of every day these brewers and foremen are on duty, and by them the most minute details of the brewing process are supervised. Everything connected with the actual process of brewing is under the control

and supervision of the Head Brewer. This is a vast business in itself, with bins for the storage of barley and malt, warehouses for storing hops, elevators, mills, tuns for mashing and fermenting, coppers where the liquor is boiled, vathouses where it is stored (these alone cover many acres of ground), and miles of piping for conveying the liquor to and fro in the course of brewing and racking. Yet this vast business does not need the manual work of many men; the greater part of the work is done by machinery.

The following are the main Departments :—

Entirely Clerical.	*Mainly Manual.*	*Internal Service.*
Secretary's Dept.	Brewhouse Dept.	Printing Dept.
Accounts ,,	Engineering ,,	Refreshment ,,
Audit ,,	Cooperage ,,	Medical ,,
Cask ,,	Forwarding ,,	
Registry ,,	Malting ,,	

Many of these Departments are further subdivided into sections for distinct portions of the work. Each of the Departments is under the control of a Departmental Manager, who is responsible to the Managing Director, and the Board, for the proper conduct of the Department. In the administration of his Department the Manager is supreme, but his supremacy is tempered by the system of weekly interviews and reports. The work of the Departments varies widely; nearly half of them are staffed by clerical workers, and long service is sometimes required to understand their routine and method.

Let us go through the Departments in the order in which they are set out above. That, of course, is not the order of importance in the business, but is the usual method of approach for the outsider. The Secretary of the Company represents it to the outer world, and though the registered office of Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd., is in London, there is also a Secretary with full powers at St. James's Gate, Dublin. The Secretary's office in Dublin is mainly a correspondence office. All correspon-

dence addressed to the firm, and not to definite departments or individuals, is dealt with by the Secretary's Department. For this purpose there is a Post Office in the Brewery, and an arrangement with the Postal Authorities for the bulk collection and delivery of all letters and parcels. This Post Office also controls the internal postal system by which all letters from departments, whether intended for internal or external delivery, are collected at frequent intervals. This internal postal system connects all departments and ensures quick communication. To the Secretary's office come also all payments of accounts and all orders for goods; and from this office are sent out all receipts and invoices. By the use of triplicate books carbon copies are kept of all these documents while copies are also sent to the Accounts Department or the Forwarding Department as the nature of the transaction requires. For trade purposes the British Isles are divided into a series of districts, each with a distinctive marking, and each district has its own staff dealing permanently with all its affairs. By this arrangement a member of the staff, by dealing continuously with the affairs of the same set of customers, comes into a kind of personal contact with each of them, gets to understand their peculiarities, and comes in time to have such a knowledge of their businesses as would probably be a surprise to them. Of course there is complete secrecy of all such matters, there is no leakage of information. Memory thus plays an important part in the speed with which the business is conducted, and the rule is very strict that all correspondence must be dealt with on the day it is received.

The name of the Accounts Department summarises its work. All cash and cheques are dealt with by the Cash Office section of the Department, the other work undertaken being the keeping of customers' accounts and the compilation of trade statistics. In this Department also the same geographical divisions are maintained as in

the Secretary's and all trading Departments. All ledgers are balanced monthly, and from the ledgers the trade statistics are abstracted. These statistics show the trade in each district in the several grades of liquor, and they show also the proportions of the "Label" and "Non-label" trade. The "Label" trade is, of course, that of traders who have signed an agreement "to sell no other brown stout in bottle," and who are supplied with labels from the brewery. The name of the Audit Department also gives the nature of its work. In it the auditing of the financial transactions is done, and no account can be paid until this Department is satisfied and passes it for payment, after any other Department has vouched its accuracy.

The Cask Department is probably the most interesting of the clerical departments. In this department every cask in use is indexed by a cross-reference system which records everything connected with the cask from the time it comes into use until it is discarded. At a glance may be seen the number of every cask that any particular customer has had over a period of twelve months, and by reference back over a period of many years. Each kind of cask has a different code number, so that a number denotes what kind of cask it refers to. Indexed under the cask number will be found the distinguishing mark of every customer who may have had it at any time, with the dates of delivery and return. This system is probably the most perfect control of containers that has ever been devised. It is complex; it takes a large staff to work it; it necessitates the use of vast quantities of paper and books; the staff salaries and the paper are costly; but the system is worth while when it is remembered that the cask is at least as valuable as its contents. And the prolonged detention of casks by customers would necessitate a large increase in the number of casks in use with a corresponding increase in capital expenditure. Every cask that leaves the Forwarding

Department for delivery has its number taken by a special staff of "numbertakers." The numbers are taken on triplicate sheets, one sheet being sent to the Secretary's Department for invoicing, one to the Cask Department for recording, the third being signed by the representative of a railway or other carrier, or by the customer where delivery is made by the brewery employees. It is very interesting to watch this cask-recording system at work. The sheets come from the Forwarding Department in district order. They are then put into order of customers' index numbers. The cask numbers are taken from these slips on to large sheets in strict numerical order, each kind of cask on different sheets, and the large sheets are then sent to be entered in the index ledgers. The original slips are pasted into folders, one of which is kept for every customer. Exactly the same procedure is gone through when casks are returned, except that the numbers are marked off in the customers' folders. This is a system which would repay study, and perhaps modified adoption, by any firm which is compelled to send out valuable containers of any kind.

The Registry Department is a kind of omnibus department where many odds and ends are gathered together. It is housed in a place which is accessible to everybody without going into the brewery. Everything appertaining to the employment or discharge of employees is dealt with by this Department, as well as everything appertaining to their welfare or progress. All the legal affairs connected with employment, Workmen's Compensation, Insurance, the Factory Acts, and such are dealt with by this office. Sick allowances, pensions, gratuities, and National Health payments are made by it. Technical education for junior employees, workers' dwellings, and the annual holiday tickets are all administered by this Department. It is a comparatively small department in its staffing, but each member of the staff is an expert in the work he has to do.

It is in the five trading and maintenance departments that the great bulk of the workers are employed. The work of the Brewhouse Department has already been considered. This Department covers the greater part of the space occupied by the firm, but it does not employ the largest number of workers. The work of the Department is done mainly by machines, and the space is taken by large vessels such as tuns and vats. It is in the work of maintenance and distribution that the largest numbers are employed. The Engineering Department, for instance, is responsible for the maintenance of the buildings and plant and for the cleaning of the entire premises. In this Department will be found civil, mechanical, and electrical engineers, architects and draftsmen, craft workers of all kinds, hundreds of labourers, and a small army of cleaners, male and female. Judged by the numbers of persons employed this is probably the largest department in the business.

The Cooperage Department is also a large department judged by the number of persons employed. This Department is responsible for the supply and the condition of the casks. New casks are made here and others are subjected to a very thorough cleaning process by steam. Great care is taken to ensure that every cask is fresh before it is put into use, and a special staff of coopers is employed upon what is technically known as " smelling," or judging the sweetness of the cask. Almost all the casks used are made by this Department's staff of coopers by hand work. Gradually the machine is displacing the handworker in the making of casks elsewhere, but the policy of Messrs. Guinness is only to introduce the machines as the handworkers drop out. No new hand-working coopers are being employed, but none are being discharged to make way for machines, though the introduction of machines would effect considerable savings in cask-making. Generally the workers in this Department have the most laborious work to be found in the brewery.

In the cleaning of casks the workers must keep pace with machines, and they work mainly in the open, protected by large shed-like structures from the worst effects of the weather. They are supplied with certain articles of clothing to preserve their own clothing from injury in the course of their work, but the work they have to do is of the heaviest and most monotonous kind.

The duty of the Forwarding Department is to fill and despatch the casks when and where they are required. The Department receives the orders from customers from the Secretary's Department every morning, and the orders are executed by this Department. In this work unskilled labour is mainly employed, and under its control are the barges, motor-lorries, private railway, and horse-lorries which are familiar to every citizen of Dublin.

The Refreshment Department is a very small department under the control of a Staff Committee. Its duty is to supply every member of the clerical and messenger staffs with a hot luncheon every day. Every member of these staffs is entitled to receive this meal free, and to receive other meals if he be on duty at stated hours. The Printing Department is another small Department, the function of which is the printing of the trade mark labels of the firm, and the manufacture of some of the stationery required by the other departments.

The Medical Department is small in staff but very important to the conduct of the firm. It is under the management of the Chief Medical Officer, and there is also a Resident Medical Officer who resides on the premises. In this Department are nurses, dentists, a midwife, and other medical officials. Every manual worker employed by the firm is entitled to free medical attendance for himself and his family, as are also all pensioners and widows of ex-employees. Every person employed, clerical and manual, is entitled to free medicines and appliances as approved or ordered by the Medical Officer. Every manual worker must report to this Department before

he can be placed on the list for sick allowance ; should he be unable to attend at the Dispensary, he will be visited in his home. This Department also works in close association with the National Health Insurance Society composed of the Brewery workers, the medical certification being done by the Brewery Medical Officers. After illness work cannot be resumed without a certificate from the Medical Officer, the certificate being handed to the department concerned by the returning worker the day before work is resumed. This Department also examines and certifies every applicant for employment in the firm, and no one can be employed who does not conform to the physical standard required. A large amount of philanthropic and welfare work is done through this Department, but this work can be better considered in a later article.

Inter-departmental relations present no difficulties as the sphere of each department is very strictly defined. Rarely is there a dispute ; invariably the relations are marked by a cordiality which is certainly an aid towards efficiency. Communication between the departments is facilitated by an internal telephone system worked on the automatic exchange plan, and by the internal postal arrangements by which there is a collection and delivery of letters every half-hour. Transfers of employees from one department to another are frequent, and in the Engineering Department there is a small reserve of workers who may be loaned to any Department requiring temporary assistance.

By the system of weekly interviews and reports the Managing Director can deal directly with anything that requires his attention. This is a feature of management which is becoming quite usual in large businesses in England and America where the departmental system is operative. Its advantages are so obvious that there is no need to expand upon them, but it may be pointed out that the idea of personal discussion combined with

a written record is capable of adaptation to even the smallest business, and that by its use many difficulties in the conduct of business might be avoided.

Arising generally from the Weekly Report, but sometimes originating quite independently, is the system of Board Orders and Board Memoranda. The main difference between these documents is that the scope of the Board Order is wider, and the time in which it is to operate longer, than that of the Board Memorandum. Decisions connected with the Weekly Report are notified to the department concerned by Memorandum. Permanent decisions concerning the entire business are communicated in Board Orders. These documents are all numbered consecutively and are referred to as if they were Acts of Parliament.

By this system the great business is controlled and all its ramifications and doings are continuously under the supervision of the Directorate. Everything even of comparatively trivial importance is written and copies kept, so that disputes can be minimised and errors traced to their source and rectified with a minimum of disturbance. It may be said that all this is too costly for the ordinary Irish business house, and that only a brewery with its wide margin of profit could afford it. That objection may be met by saying that efficient business, quick replies to communications, ready despatch of orders, and a minimum of errors are worth paying for. The fact is that people in business are willing to pay for efficiency, and that consuming customers demand it. It is the best form of advertising, as it is the best form of business. Too little attention has been paid here in the past to the structure, organisation, and control of industrial and commercial institutions, and without that attention there is small hope for the expansion of our industries and the growth of our commerce.

ANDREW E. MALONE.

THE CENTENARY OF LAENNEC

Born on February 17, 1781—Died on August 12, 1826

BY WILLIAM DOOLIN, F.R.C.S.

Réné Théophile Hyacinthe Laennec, with whose discovery of auscultation the foundation stone of modern clinical diagnosis may be said to have been well and truly laid, came of an old Breton, and therefore Catholic family, many of whose members had honourably filled posts in the civil government. Born at Quimper on February 17, 1781, he had the misfortune to lose his mother at an early age, a victim to the same fell disease which he was to labour afterwards so assiduously to identify, and to which in turn he was eventually to succumb, worn out prematurely by his labours. His father, a genial but erratic man of letters, left the education of his children entirely in the hands of his relations. To one of these, his grand-uncle, the Abbé Laennec, the six year old Réné was confided on his mother's death. Three years later, he went to continue his studies at the house of his father's brother, at the time a *médecin-militaire* and later Director of the medical school at Nantes. From the worthy Abbé it was that he received the solid grounding in the classics evident in his later writings, as doubtless it was his sojourn with his uncle that definitely turned his thoughts to medicine as a career.

Laennec arrived at Nantes during the worst days of the Revolution. "Accablés de tant de maux et combattants nuit et jour, les Nantais avaient fermé les écoles." His uncle, absorbed in a thousand cares, could bestow but little time on his instruction. Nevertheless, as time went on, the young Laennec followed him thoughtfully on his rounds through the city and military hospitals, and before he was 15 years of age, had started to study anatomy. His time, however, was not wholly devoted to his medical studies. A keen observer, he delighted in natural history, nor did he neglect the humanities; at the École Centrale he continued to follow the courses in Greek and Latin. English and German he could already speak with a certain fluency.

In 1799 the Chouan revolt broke out against the Directory; Laennec had just received his nomination as *interne* to one of the city hospitals when he was called up for active service; he was appointed military surgeon to the troops under Brune, and took part in the campaign of Morbihan. On his demobilisation, having

with difficulty procured the necessary money from his father, he betook himself to Paris (April, 1801) to resume his studies, with the firm intention of a rapid return to practice in Brittany. He did not come wholly unprepared. The six years of study at Nantes, the clinical experience gained in the military hospitals, and above all the wise counsel and weighty example of his uncle, had all served to ripen his judgment. These years of preparation were to bear rich fruit. His knowledge of the humanities was extensive; but his scientific equipment was less wide, being largely confined to the anatomical experiences acquired by his dissections at Nantes.

Bichat was then the acknowledged leader of the younger men in Paris. Under his influence and that of his clinical teacher, Corvisart, Laennec took up the study of pathological anatomy. Here commenced his lifelong friendship with Bayle. To his pathological work Laennec brought the qualities of order and precision which characterised all his acts. He had a remarkable faculty of observation, allied to keen perspicacity. At the end of the year his work had attracted such attention that Corvisart sponsored him as a favoured pupil. His rare aptitude for the study of pathological anatomy was such that, within two years of his arrival in Paris, a whole series of original communications, remarkable for their insight and accuracy, had appeared from his pen. He had in preparation the notes for a treatise on pathological anatomy, taking Bichat's textbook of normal anatomy as his model.

Research work, however attractive to the investigator, is not as a rule remunerative, and Laennec was now being constantly subjected to reproaches from home that he was no nearer to attaining his diploma than when he had first set out for Paris. Lack of means, misunderstanding, and a naturally delicate constitution afforded a harassing prospect for one whose whole bent was for investigation. But science must wait, and bread must be gained. His pathological treatise was destined never to see the light. He had to turn aside from his researches. In 1803 he won two out of four prizes at the annual *concours-général*, those of medicine and surgery. The following year he obtained his degree with the thesis : *Propositions sur la doctrine de Hippocrate, relatives à la pratique médicale*, in which he emphasised the importance of clinical observation, concluding with the apposite quotation from Klein : Ce que j'estime le plus c'est l'expérience très souvent répétée.

Despite his university successes, he was destined to remain in obscurity for twelve weary years. In the beginning of 1816 he

thought of forsaking Paris. Weary and disillusioned, his mind turned again to his beloved Brittany. One of his childhood friends, Becquey, had recently become a *sous-sécrétaire d'Etat*, and on the first opportunity nominated him for a vacant post at the Necker hospital. Success had come at last.

Although torn from his studies to practice, his whole subsequent career showed that in the face of all difficulties he never ceased to pursue the one line of thought. All through, first as a struggling *médecin de quartier*, later when the hospitals were open to him, pathological anatomy remained his guide and his instrument. The discovery of auscultation was but an incident, the stethoscope but an instrument, in the development of the anatomo-clinical method, which was Laennec's chief contribution to the evolution of modern scientific medicine. A veritable galaxy of talent stands out in the firmament of France in the medical science of the nineteenth century: Laennec, Bretonneau, Louis, Claude Bernard, Pasteur. Fashioned in poverty, loneliness and suffering, the contribution of Laennec is immortal.

The idea of listening to the sounds produced within the body did not originate with Laennec. The direct application of the ear to the chest was recommended by Hippocrates, to hear for splashing sounds suggestive of a mixture of air and fluid within the pleural cavity. Harvey had heard the beating of the heart, and as a student Laennec had seen his master, Corvisart, auscultate his heart cases.

To-day French physicians seldom use the stethoscope: the immediate application of the ear to the chest wall is the method of choice. They admit, however, that the stethoscope permits of greater exactitude than the unaided ear. Laignet-Lavastine makes the interesting psychological point that, without his belief in the instrument, Laennec, worn out with illness and fatigue, would never have persisted in the detailed series of observations whereby he interpreted the true significance of the sounds produced by the changes wrought by disease processes in the lungs. With his extensive knowledge of pathological anatomy, he had the habit of visualising the lesions seen on the dead subject as he observed the symptoms and listened to the chests of the living. Laennec believed that by means of the stethoscope he could *see with his ears* the interior of the lungs in life.

The discovery of the stethoscope is an interesting story. One morning, in the autumn of 1816, Laennec was going to visit a patient. His path led him across the great square of the Louvre, and, as he passed, his attention was drawn by the cries of surprise

and amusement of a group of children. The Pavilion de Rohan had recently undergone certain structural alterations, and amongst the *débris* of the scaffolding these youngsters had found a long piece of wood. Placing themselves at either end of this piece, two of the children were amusing each other with a sort of anticipatory telephone; while the one scratched with a pin on his end of the stick, his companion, with his ear applied to the other end, listened to the sounds thus produced and faithfully transmitted by the solid column of intervening matter. Their discovery was not new; it was well known to students of physics; but the chance encounter was just so timed as to assist Laennec in the solution of a difficulty. It so happened that the patient whom he was on his way to visit was a young girl, with an obvious heart lesion, but whose stoutness made difficult the recognition of the cardiac impulse by the application of the hand to the chest wall. It was a case where it would have been advisable to have applied his ear directly to the precordial area, were it not that a certain feeling of delicacy prevented him. As he himself stated in recounting the incident later, "Decency did not permit my having recourse to this means." The action of the children, however, suggested another and better means. Laennec took a sheet of paper, rolled it into a tight cylinder, applied one end to the chest wall of his patient, and listened. The movements of the heart came to his ear with a precision hitherto unknown. He had discovered the stethoscope.

With the stethoscope Laennec defined the characters of the normal respiratory sounds. He it was who described the great majority of the stethoscopic signs which permit us to-day to localise pulmonary lesions and to diagnose their nature. Those who came after him have added certain details to his work, but they have found nothing to withdraw. In the three years from 1816 to 1819 Laennec discovered and described practically all the signs of lung disease discernible to the ear; the magnitude of his achievement will be the more easily realised when we reflect that to-day, after twenty-five years of international investigation, radiologists are not yet of accord as to the value of certain radiographic images.

It was a time when hypothesis almost wholly predominated in the teaching of medicine. In the preface to his *Traité de l'Auscultation Médiate* we find the protest: *Attamen nescio quo fato vulgus medicorum in theorias hypotheticas semper praeceps ruit.* To theory Laennec opposed the observation of facts; on the title-page of the Treatise is placed the aphorism of the Father

of Medicine : *Μέγα δὲ μέρος ἡγεῦμαι τῆς τεχνῆς εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι σκοπεῖν.*[1]

Familiar as he was with the changes wrought by disease in human tissues, as demonstrated by countless post-mortem examinations, he sought to correlate these changes with the symptoms produced during the life of the patient. This unattractive labour was the true foundation of the anatomo-clinical method, the real starting-point of modern clinical diagnostic accuracy. The added experience of one hundred years has but confirmed the essential verity of his method.

But the pioneer investigator of tuberculosis was struck down by the illness to which he had devoted so much intensive study. From his youth up he had been of delicate constitution. Now, exhausted by the three years of incessant labour which had gone to the building up of his Treatise, he made his own diagnosis : he also was a *phtisique*. In 1819 he left Paris for Brittany. He settled at Ploaré, in the old manor-house of Kerlouarnec, on the Bay of Douarnenez. There, in this *terre de granit recouverte de chênes*, little by little he won back his health, till he believed he was strong enough to resume his active professional life.

Honours were coming to him fast. In 1823 he was appointed Professor of Clinical Medicine in the Faculty of Paris, and later Professor at the Collège de France and member of the Academy of Medicine. Chevalier of the royal order of the Legion of Honour, physician to the Duchesse de Berry, member of numerous foreign learned societies, Laennec had become an important figure in the medical world. Hundreds of young physicians from other countries in Europe and America had come to study under him. Fully conscious of the value of his work, Laennec defended his methods against his detractors, of whom the most violent was Broussais, a Breton of his own country. The quarrel between these two clinicians was pursued *à l'outrance* ; to Broussais' violence Laennec replied coldly and disdainfully. In the preface to the second enlarged edition of his Treatise, which appeared within a few months of his death, he answers in detail all Broussais' arguments and explains his own position :—

Le but que je me suis constamment proposé dans mes études et recherches a été la solution des trois problèmes suivans : (1) *distinguer sur le cadavre un cas pathologique, aux caractères physiques que présente l'altération des organes ;* (2) *le reconnaître sur le vivant, à des signes certains, et autant que possible physiques et indépendans des symptômes, c'est-à-dire du trouble variable des actions vitales que l'accompagnent ;* (3) *combattre la maladie par les moyens que l'expérience a montré être les plus efficaces . . .*

[1] The power of observation is, in my opinion, the greatest part of the art.—Hippoc. *Epid.* III.

In these few lines is summarised the essential element of modern clinical method. Notwithstanding the contributions of chemistry, bacteriology, and X-rays, clinical observation, in the sense in which Laennec was the first to define it, still remains the primary factor in the art and science of diagnosis.

At the end, when, consumed by a life of intense work, and feeling the decline of his strength approaching, he sought peace and rest—perhaps illusion—it was back to Brittany, to Kerlouarnec in Ploaré, he came. Here there drew to a close a life that, for all its accomplishment, was one of sorrow and disillusionment; and in the little churchyard hard by the country chapel where he had so often prayed, after long and weary days of pain, still in his youth, he found his final repose.

Thus passed Laennec, "greatest of physicians since the days of Hippocrates." A devout Catholic in a time when philosophies and creeds had been tumbled in the dust, he showed in his devotion to his work a rare courage and sense of duty. "En revenant l'année dernière pour achever mon ouvrage," he wrote to his father in 1819, "*je savais que je risquais ma vie*, mais le livre que je vais publier sera, je l'espère, assez utile tôt ou tard pour valoir mieux que la vie d'un homme et, en conséquence, *mon devoir était de l'achever, quelque chose qui put m'arriver.*" Words such as these are eloquent testimony to the courage as well as to the genius of the man.

The initiative of celebrating the centenary of the death of this great *rénovateur* of medical science came from the Academy of Medicine of Paris. The success of the Fêtes Centenaires was due in no small measure to the energy and organising power of Prof. Chauffard and Prof. Roussy, President and General Secretary respectively of the Comité d'Organisation.

Be he Basque or Breton, your true Frenchman is a born hero-worshipper, and Brittany has the cult of her great men as she has of her saints and legends. Thus, last August, on the anniversary of his death, there took place a simple and touching ceremony at Ploaré, in the land of Cornouaille. Here, in the churchyard of the little country church where he had been wont to worship on the occasion of his visits to Kerlouarnec, commemorative orations were delivered before a gathering of his own Breton folk, who had flocked hither from Rennes to Brest, from Morlaix to Nantes, and who still worship his memory.

This *jour intime* served as a prologue to the more formal international ceremonies held in Paris last December, when some 200 representatives of foreign governments and learned societies

assembled from all the countries of the world to pay homage to the memory of one of the great benefactors of humanity. In these ceremonies it was not forgotten that Laennec, faithful to family tradition, remained throughout *un grand croyant*. The two large Catholic medical guilds, La Société de Saint Luc and Les Amis de Laennec (in one or other of which are grouped the majority of the Catholic medical practitioners of France), initiated the official celebrations with a High Mass at Notre Dame, in the presence of His Eminence Cardinal Dubois. The *éloge funèbre* was delivered by the Rev. Père de Tonquédec, who moved the crowded assembly by the rare and persuasive eloquence with which he traced the intellectual development of the Breton physician, and showed that the ascendancy of spirit over matter, so far from being incompatible with faith, constituted its superb and unshakeable foundation.

With the Church, the State and the Municipality of Paris were to take part in the official ceremonies; for Laennec the physician has become a national figure, one of the *grands hommes de la Patrie reconnaissante*. Thus, the President of the Republic attended in state, in company with Mgr. Maglione, the Papal Nuncio, the inaugural ceremony at the Sorbonne, which was presided over by M. Painlevé, the Minister for War. The City welcomed us at the Hotel de Ville, where we were received by M. Godin, the President of the Municipal Council. At the Sorbonne, at the Academy of Medicine, at the various hospitals and institutions which we visited, the many-sidedness, the intellectual honesty, the clarity of thought of this greatest of clinical teachers were alluded to in glowing terms by a succession of selected speakers from amongst the Paris Faculty. As M. Painlevé had occupied the chair at Sorbonne, M. Herriot, the Minister of Public Instruction, presided over the Séance solennelle at the Academy, and M. Fallières, Minister of Public Health, was Chairman at the official banquet.

Irony might tempt one to reflect on the contrast between the humble burial service of a hundred years ago, performed by a simple *curé de campagne* in the presence of a few Breton countryfolk, and the elaborate centenary festival of last December, at which the highest functionaries of the State, two Princes of the Church, a brilliant company of the Corps Diplomatique, and a host of scientific men from the four quarters of earth, assembled to pay a tribute of homage and respect to the memory of one whom his contemporaries did not understand.

William Doolin.

THE CENTENARY OF PESTALOZZI

Born on January 12, 1746—Died on February 17, 1827.

BY PROFESSOR T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

The centenary of the death of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, which took place at Brugg in Switzerland on February 17, 1827, has evoked numerous commemorative addresses both on the Continent and in England. In almost all of these estimates of his long and chequered career as an educator, from 1775 to 1825, stress has been laid on the spirit, purpose, and ideals which he set before himself. This is not without good reason : it was the investigation of his aims, aspirations, and trend of method that drew educators from all Europe to Yverdon, on the shore of Lake Neuchatel, during the score of years, 1805-1825, that Pestalozzi held school there. It was the spirit and the aim of his work that led the Prussian Ministry of Education to send selected primary teachers out from Prussia, to that school in Switzerland conducted by a man of Italian descent, one who had early ceased to be a Christian in any definite sense, and who in his mature years was a vehement and declared supporter of the extreme left parties in the French Revolution. It is therefore of moment to ascertain from Pestalozzi's own declarations and practice, what he himself held to be his essential contribution to the development of education.

Was that contribution made at Yverdon, in the select boarding schools for boys and girls, international alike in pupils and in staffs, for which he made himself responsible ? At Yverdon, without doubt, his doctrines as to methods of teaching exercised a real influence over Europe. Emperors and Kings and Grand Dukes, scientific pioneers such as Karl Ritter, public men such as Henry Brougham and Robert Owen, doctrinaires in educational methods like Froebel, Mayo, and Bell, great ladies travelling across Europe at the close of the Napoleonic Wars, all visited the schools of Pestalozzi, and declared themselves impressed. Was that the type of school, were these the methods of instruction, the scope, spirit, and aim of education which Pestalozzi held to be his very own ? If there is cogent evidence that his heart as an educator was set elsewhere, it is important to place him properly in the history of his profession. It is

also of importance to estimate the value and the originality of that contribution to education which he himself, and the companions who knew him best, avowed to be distinctively his.

On all these critical issues the documentary sources are abundant, and they leave no doubt as to the type of education which Pestalozzi regarded, first and last, as his very own. That type was not to be found at the schools of Yverdon, nor at the Institute which, from 1800 to 1804, he conducted at Burgdorf for the Helvetic Government of that day. When in 1826 he reviewed, with remarkable effectiveness in the difficult task of autobiography, the main aspects of his prolonged career as an educator and as a writer on education, he spoke with decision, defining what was and what was not the central theme of his work. The final pages of the *Schwanengesang*, slurred over as a rule by English and American writers, are repeatedly emphatic on this principal issue.

> My Institute, as it was at Burgdorf, emergent from disorder, and as it was at Yverdon, *dans sa difformité sans nom*, was not the aim of my life. These Institutes do not constitute the sum of my aspirations. That work was not the work of my heart: I never destined myself for such undertakings. Fixed on the galley-bench in these two schools, I no longer belonged to myself, and I was unable to make use as I desired of my aptitudes and capacities. What is really my own does not at all date from Burgdorf (1801), but from the first impulses of my love for the people and for childhood. This high idea, the idea of elementary education, was already developed when I wrote *Leonard and Gertrude*. I had already a profound and vivid feeling of the splendid results which that idea will produce for the human race . . . . . I have a lively sense of gratitude to the Helvetic Government for having given me the castle of Burgdorf to found there an Institute; but it was a grave error on my part to have accepted it.

Pestalozzi, therefore, declined to accept as at all illustrative of his genuine doctrines on education, the schoolwork of the years 1801 to 1825, to which English and American writers have constantly had recourse for their expositions of Pestalozzian methods and ideals. These methods and ideals, Pestalozzi maintains, were evolved before the publication of his main work on Education. Now the first part of *Leonard and Gertrude* appeared in 1781. It was added to at intervals down to 1794; and in 1801 he wrote "How Gertrude instructs her Children." "The essential aim of my method," says Pestalozzi, "is to make possible for the people *domestic education*." This was exactly what he had worked at in his farm-school at Neuhof from 1774 to 1780; it is significant that the whole description of Gertrude was modelled on Elizabeth Näf, the faithful servant of his household for over forty years. The position thus defined for

Pestalozzianism has, in 1926, been at last expressly acknowledged in the United States. Dr. L. F. Anderson, of the Ohio State University, in his *History of Manual and Industrial School Education*[1] summarises the true and the false views as to Pestalozzianism as follows :—

> Pestalozzi's central aim was the elevation, through education, of *the lower classes*. For these he considered industrial training of fundamental importance, mainly for economic reasons. He gave little attention to handwork in his schools for *the middle and upper classes* at Burgdorf and Yverdon. The Pestalozzian schools have not, on the whole, being distinguished for the amount of attention that they have given to industrial education.

The successors of Pestalozzi, therefore, in Europe and in America, have followed the lead given at Burgdorf and at Yverdon, from 1801 to 1825, a period which Pestalozzi deliberately and completely set aside as one when he could not and did not realise his own ideals, or even aim at them. He was then chained to the galley oar, to use his own metaphor. These two schools were " chaotic and without principle " ; " no name " could be given to the " disparate work " there essayed. To the policy of Neuhof from 1774 to 1780, set out in his major works from 1781 to 1801, must alone be attached the name of Pestalozzi. Was that policy of " domestic education," the policy of " industrial training, mainly for economic reasons," as Dr. Anderson has aptly summed it up, a sound policy ? Was it, as Niederer boldly claimed for his master, " a great and new idea, revealing a genius of the first order in the domain of civilisation " ? Did it tend, as Dr. Anderson says and as Pestalozzi himself imagined, " to elevate the people " ? It has many replicas to-day, though they do not recognise Pestalozzi as the inventor of the design. The issues here involved are of permanent significance in popular education, and that in its industrial, most of all in its agricultural bearings.

The true Pestalozzian idea, defined as such and exemplified by Pestalozzi himself, was neither noble nor valid ; it was not new, and it by no means tended " to elevate the people." Unworthy alike in its origins and in its realisation under Pestalozzi, it was educationally false and sterile. Here in Ireland it had a horrible analogue on a large scale, which took shape before Pestalozzi was born, and which survived the close of his long life. It has had horrible consequences, alike in the mines and factories of England a hundred years ago, and in those of Empires and Republics to-day. It has been and is a destructive pest,

[1] New York and London : Appleton, 1926.

shrivelling up the lives and hearts of untold thousands of the children of the people. Pestalozzi gave it effect on the offspring of the poor, who were placed at his disposal on his farm at Neuhof, 1775-1780. As Dr. Anderson says, and as is in effect stated by Pestalozzi himself, no such ideal or method of education was at all seen in his "schools for the middle and upper classes" at Burgdorf, 1801-1804, and at Yverdon, 1805-1825.

Pestalozzi married Anna Schulthess in 1769. He was then 23 years of age, and without any definite occupation or aims: his education had been casual and desultory. He had taken a large farm, near Birr; it was financed by his wife's family. By 1774 he was an evident failure as a farmer, as a dairy-man, and as a cheese-maker. Thereupon, as he had to live, he built a shed for cotton spinning, and determined that the children of the very poor would serve as workers. They would, he held, find the work easy, and it would promptly prove remunerative: in his eyes it was at once "a successful industrial speculation and a good deed." He got more money from his wife's family and paid off some creditors. With a debt of 4,000 florins against his name, as the residue after five years on the land, Pestalozzi, encouraged by a kindred philanthropist named Iselin, launched in December, 1775, his "Appeal to the Friends of Humanity." It was a call for a long-term (10-16 years) loan by subscription. He undertook by means of it to teach children reading, writing, and arithmetic, in his farm house. The boys were to be taught agriculture; girls, housecraft; and he was quite clear as to how they were to manage betimes. "Thanks to cotton-spinning, which will be *their chief occupation*, the children will be able to assist in paying for themselves."

Pestalozzi's friend Schinz—he always had a large number of casual associates in his undertakings—collected subscriptions from the official classes and the merchants and landowners of Basle, Zurich, and Berne; and it is Schinz who tells us how the children were secured. The Government of the Canton of Berne deported to the Neuhof farmhouse all the "poor and outcast children" within its bailiwick, even as thirty years later the County Magistrates and Wardens of Southern England sent poor children by the cartload to the mine-owners and factory masters of the North Country, and were ever ready to supply more child labour, in view of the great mortality among such "workers." So the farmhouse of Pestalozzi harboured some 17 boys and 20 girls. Pestalozzi kept five adult weavers and spinners, a woman teacher for little children, and a man whose services were shared

between the handling of cotton machinery and the instruction of elder pupils in reading. Pestalozzi issued three reports (1776-77-78) on his project and its basic purposes and methods. Then his pen ceased to be active, and in 1780 the enterprise collapsed. With the help of his own and of his wife's relations, creditors were paid off at a third of the sums due them: and "the poor children of the countryside" were left derelict. "He had employed them," wrote his friend Huber, of Birr, "not only at spinning cotton, but at weaving, dyeing, and printing that material. With all his good intentions, he was the most utterly unfit of all men for the work he undertook. He was passionate very frequently with them, and severe in his punishments. The children, younger and elder alike, scoffed at him when his back was turned: there was no serious discipline."

What were the educational aims and processes of Pestalozzi at Neuhof? The ample expositions of his policy with "the children of the lowest classes" (der niedrigsten Menschheit) in his writings from 1781 to 1801 declare them with precision. So do the Reports issued from the farm-school, 1776-1778:

> The master of the village school has spinning wheels and weaving looms in the classroom. Peasant children must work their tongues and their fingers at once. He speaks aloud to them what they are to learn by heart, and makes them repeat it aloud. He writes with chalk on the blackened wall the words to be read out, the sum to be added up. He thus makes them read and reckon while spinning and weaving, with no interruption of their toil. Toil is what is most necessary for country folk. For my peasant children, in view of their future condition, such work is the essential means to education. To that chief concern the cultivation of knowledge is merely accessory and subordinate. If I had such a school, and if I there saw my pupils learning while working, I should hold that I could thus radically transform those bad schools where children are indulged and spoiled rather than improved.

To secure this end, and other obvious ends as well, Pestalozzi, fervent disciple of Rousseau, adopted Rousseau's view that such work as reading, writing, and reckoning should be deferred as long as possible. He applied it drastically at Neuhof. The Report of 1777 is explicit as to this. "I ought not devote their seventh year to anything but their true destiny, apprenticeship to manual work. Reading, writing, and calculation should wait till they are a couple of years older." And in 1782 he prescribed that his own son "will be twelve years old in a few days, and cannot read or write. I am quite tranquil about this." Not so his wife; for, without a word to Pestalozzi, she had secretly taught him herself to read, write, and cipher. "Pestalozzi never realized how she had acted," we are told by his friend Emmanuel

Fröhlich in his *Souvenirs*; "and he was delighted with the lad's rapid progress later on."

That such a system, if system it can be called, was inevitably false and sterile, needs no proof here: the silent unanimity with which all his followers have averted their attention from it ever since, affords the best of commentaries on its worthlessness. But it was worse than worthless. Every element in the Neuhof plan, the one plan that he affirmed to be his essential concept of true education at all times in his long life, from 1774 to his death in 1827, was an open route to the most abusive kind of industrial exploitation. Pestalozzi believed he had made a great and original contribution to Education when, under the pressure of his own economic straits, he evolved the Neuhof Plan. Accordingly, he must bear alone the full responsibility of his proposals and of their application. That he was aided in his project by the urban capitalists of Calvinistic Switzerland is no reason for relieving him of this historical burden. But similar projects and their practical results were widely canvassed among acquisitive philanthropists from the end of the 17th century. "It appears to have been a special object of charitable and philanthropic endeavour in the 18th century," writes Miss A. M. Anderson, Principal Inspector of Factories to the English Home Office, "to found Houses of Industry in which little children, even under five years of age, might be trained for apprenticeship with employers. Not unavowed was another motive: 'from children thus trained up to constant labour, we may venture to hope the lowering of its price' (*Essay on Trade*, 1770)."

The most notable, and certainly the most infamous, of all these schemes of capitalistic philanthropists was that which was set up in Ireland by Primate Hugh Boulter, by Bishop Berkeley and by Dean Swift, and by all the Lords, Commons, and Established Church dignitaries of the English in Ireland, in the year 1733. The Charter Schools, so called because of the special grant of a Royal Charter in that year, were to Hugh Boulter "the most rational push that has ever been made for establishing the Protestant religion in this Kingdom." To Henry Maule, Bishop of Dromore, preaching in 1733 before the Viceroy Dorset and both Houses of Parliament in Christ Church, Dublin, these "English Protestant Schools in Ireland," "useful Seminaries of Labour and Industry," "usefully carried on either in Farms or Country Settlements, or in Working Colonies," were "a glorious and most joyful prospect." As "Working Schools," "Spinning Schools," they would be favoured by "all who wish well to the

Protestant Interest of this Nation." For them Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant in 1745, secured an annual vote of public money from the Colonial Parliament in Dublin, which yielded in all more than £1,000,000 in cash to the Charter School Committee, between 1745 and 1831.

As the terms quoted above, used between 1730 and 1736, abundantly show, the Charter Schools were organised on what in 1775-1780 was claimed to be the great new Plan of Pestlaozzi, his stroke of genius. English State Policy in Ireland had anticipated him by forty years. For the perversion of the children of the Catholic Poor in Ireland they had established, by 1751, forty of these Industrial Boarding Schools. In 1761 there were forty-seven schools with 2,000 children. Special laws were made, enabling a magistrate to commit to them any poor child found vagrant, much as the frugal Canton of Berne deported to Pestalozzi's farm school at Neuhof all the children that were a public charge. The merits of the Charter Schools were preached every year, from 1733 to 1781, in Dublin and in London, and the proceeds of these sermons, as well as the annual Parliamentary Votes of Money—then unique in the world of Education—were managed in Dublin by a Committee of Fifteen, most of whom were the high dignitaries of the State Church in Ireland. All seemed to go well.

But in 1781 John Howard, F.R.S., visiting the State Prisons in Ireland, visited the Charter Schools as well, and was horrified by what he saw. He repeated his tour in 1787, and, staunch Protestant as he was, believing the Charter Schools to be "a noble charity," he reported his findings in full detail to a special committee of the Colonial Parliament in 1788. That Committee had also before it detailed reports from Sir J. Fitzpatrick on visits paid to these State Farm Schools in 1785-1788. These full accounts are largely unprintable, so shocking was the condition of the unfortunate children in these "working schools," wherein their strength was exhausted by merciless masters, on farm work and on spinning and weaving, for the profit of the masters themselves. It will suffice here to cite the Report of the Commons Committee, 1791, which was called for, in print, by a Commons' Resolution of 1799, but whose publication was eluded successfully. It was finally printed in 1856.

> In most of the said establishments the instruction, cleanliness, and health of the children had been most grossly neglected; the children had not been allowed sufficient food, clothing, and other necessaries; in many of these schools they are half starved, half naked, and covered with cutaneous disorders, the effects of filth and negligence. Of all these forty-four establishments, not more than five or six were properly taken care of.

The Committee dealing with what it significantly called "this great national charity," charged heavily against "the allowance of about twopence a day only for the maintenance of each child, which was insufficient"; against the "ignorance, gross neglect, and frauds of masters and mistresses," who found it profitable "to devote too much of the children's time to labour, and pay little attention to their instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the Christian religion." So found such men as John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College; Thomas Hussey Burgh, Denis Daly of Dunsandle, Isaac Corry, and others, all leading members of the Colonial Parliament in Dublin. Was any remedy applied? None whatever. The grants continued, and were raised to £41,000 a year a score of years later, when the evidence placed before a later Committee of Inquiry was even more repulsive than that furnished in full detail by Howard and Fitzpatrick in 1781-1788.

Yet withal, on one significant point they did not follow the plan devised by Pestalozzi, amid such dangerous conditions, at Neuhof Farm School and Spinning School in the years 1775-1780. He evolved an elaborate philosophy of Education to justify the exploitation of children of seven years of age and thereabouts, the produce of whose toil he sold for his own benefit in the urban markets of the region where he lived. The masters and mistresses of the Charter Schools were frankly out for personal gain from the spinning and from farm work, and were in no mood to essay a dialectic defence of their position. The Parliament that endowed them wanted none, and recked nothing of the sufferings of the poor children whose state their Committee had so pointedly described. Pestalozzi had provided himself with a sophistical web of pseudo-philanthropic character. He adhered to it firmly throughout his long life: it kept its place with unflinching tenacity within his mind, as late as 1826, the year before his long and unbalanced life reached its close. That his undisciplined intellect had somehow convinced itself of the sublime merits of the Neuhof Plan of 1775-1780 is probably quite true. Iselin, Huber, Schinz, Niederer, Krusi, Fellenberg, and Schmid, who worked with him throughout these long years, appear to concur in the view that the Neuhof Plan was alone the plan that he regarded as his very own, his essential contribution to Educational Organisation and Method.

It is therefore a benefit to his reputation that the Neuhof Plan of industrial exploitation, under the guise of philanthropy and of education, collapsed as soon and as thoroughly as it did.

Once afterwards, as a servitor of the French Revolutionary Militarists in the Catholic Cantons of his own country, he essayed to give it effect among Catholic war orphans whom they put under his care. But even Revolutionary France had soon to terminate his sorry services at Stanz. Had he got the chance of developing his philosophy for the " education of the lowest classes," he might well have proved to be the educational theorist in ordinary to the mill-owners and the colliery proprietors of England in the Industrial Revolution. Then and there thousands of children, five to nine years of age, were handed over to industrial slavery by public Wardens of the Poor, and died in wholesale numbers. Even when the Factory Act of 1802, ostentatiously promoted by the elder Robert Peel, cotton spinner and calico printer, seemed to do something to save them, it was carefully limited to children who were formally apprenticed : and not one in a hundred were apprenticed at all. The merciless exploitation of child labour extended in England for more than sixty years after Pestalozzi had expounded and applied his sinister Philosophy of Education, 1775-1801. It is rampant to-day, when Chinese children of five years of age are employed by the thousand in European mills and factories, in all the great ports which are marked by " concessions, " as at Shanghai and Canton. It is a deep stain not only on the economic repute of modern and industrial Japan, but upon the United States and on many other countries as well.

The legislation of modern Switzerland, in this respect, is in many ways a model for the world, both as to the duration of true education, and as to the use of and the provision of safeguards for youthful workers in industries. Above all, Switzerland has the credit of having reorganised most effectively the industrial and educational values of apprenticeship. In this way, the country of Pestalozzi leads the world to-day. But for this no credit is due to Pestalozzi. His elaborate arguments in favour of a system that is the very antithesis of all true education, arguments deployed in books, articles, pamphlets, letters over a period of fifty years, from the Neuhof Reports of 1776 down to the last pages of the *Schwanengesang* in 1826, all these have, in wise mercy to his own repute, been set aside.

T. Corcoran.

CHRONICLE

Steyl, 1875–1925

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

My first view of Steyl was from the far bank of the Maas—for Steyl, though a German house, stands in Dutch territory, and nobody speaks of the Meuse in Holland. I had been told that we were going to a religious colony, not to an ordinary mission-house; but the size of Steyl astonished me and my companions, one of whom was an expert in missionary lore. What we saw across the river was only the school, large enough to house comfortably 300 pupils, and with a fine, lofty, modern church as central point of the whole building. Behind that lay the community-house, the novitiate, the infirmary, the printing works and all the innumerable technical installations which make Steyl a model of up-to-date religious apostolate. And away behind the immense gardens (once sand-hills) lay the two convents of nuns: one an enclosed convent, where seventy nuns in turn keep perpetual watch before the altar, to beg God's blessing on the work done by the Society of the Divine Word; and the other a convent of active missionary sisters, some of them making ready for future work in the missions, others training the lay-teachers needed to make Steyl's work complete.

The ferry was waiting as we came up. We had the whole day before us; but we needed it, as we soon found out.

What is Steyl? Fifty years ago, a young German priest, Arnold Janssen, was caught by the missionary idea. France, at the time, was almost alone in her heroic endeavour to maintain the Catholic tradition of world-wide apostolate. Belgium and Italy were also active; but in all Germany, Holland and Austria there was not a single missionary house, though here and there members of various religious orders and congregations were out at work as active missionaries. Father Janssen was a man of strange ideas. He had just thrown up a comfortable position as mathematical master in a Westphalian school; he was the first editor of a Messenger of the Sacred Heart, and the first director of the Apostleship of Prayer in Germany; and in the years immediately following the Franco-Prussian war he was busy promoting a national crusade of prayer for the religious re-union of Germany. Then came the Kulturkampf, and with it the open

antagonism between Catholic and Protestant deliberately fostered by Bismarck's government. For the time being Father Janssen despaired of his crusade, and his thoughts went further afield. Catholic priests were being persecuted, fined, imprisoned at home. Why not point to a more promising apostolate abroad? Mgr. Raimondi, first Catholic Bishop of Hong-kong and one of the founders of the Missionary Seminary in Milan, urged him to begin the work at once by founding a mission-house for German students. Father Janssen hesitated at first, and then gave his consent. His fellow-priests laughed at the idea when he suggested the foundation. One of them, however, had a shrewder instinct. "Go and found it," he said, "you've got the necessary piety and obstinacy." And that's how Arnold Janssen came to Steyl in 1874. He had only a florin in his pocket, and that he gave to a beggar-woman whom he met on the road.

It took a year to get the house started, though at first the house was only a cottage. More than that, of the four men who joined hands with Father Janssen for the work in 1875—two priests and two students—three had broken with him for ever before the year was out, and the fourth was wavering in his purpose. But Father Janssen made the Stations of the Cross in the parish Church, when he saw no other prospect of help; and help came. To-day the cottage has become a religious establishment, so large as to make it almost impossible to find the village, and the parish church stands now, curiously out of place, right in the heart of this vast colony. Steyl is properly the name of the village; but those who hear the name think only of this new and amazing growth. And there must be millions now who know the name; for Steyl has become the mother-house of a new religious congregation, the Society of the Divine Word (S. V. D.). The latest statistics of the Society are worth quoting in full: four Missionary Bishops, two Prefects Apostolic, 809 priests, 380 students for the priesthood, 132 novices, 950 lay-brothers, 304 novice-brothers, 280 brother-postulants and 2,100 pupils in 24 mission-houses. The Society has now three provinces in Europe: West Germany, East Germany (including Austria, Hungary and Poland), and Holland. There is also a province in North America, and another in Brasil; and I have counted fourteen different missions on their mission-map, of which twelve are definitely missions to the heathen. To these should be added two African missions (Togo and Mozambique) lost during the war, and a mission to the Indians in Paraguay, which was maintained for fourteen years and then abandoned two years ago owing to impossible conditions.

One of these fourteen missions makes a special appeal to the imagination. For the past fifty years Belgian missionaries from Scheut have been at work in Kansu, Mongolia and East Turkestan : a territory larger in area than all Europe. So vast an area proved too much, even for Belgian activity. It was indeed a survival of the days when Rome gave all the missions to France and Belgium, because no other country would take them. After the war the Scheutist Fathers petitioned Propaganda for a division of their territory, and named the German Fathers of Steyl as their most desirable successors. This was in 1921, and the division was finally made in 1922. When one thinks of the European diplomacy which our papers were applauding in those grim post-war years, Kansu and Turkestan appear like some half-forgotten earthly paradise. To-day Belgian and German priests and brothers work side by side in the missions of Central Asia—and if we at home are learning to forget the post-war tragedy, who can tell how much of the blessing may be due to the power of that quiet sacrifice ?

Further details are tempting, but for the moment we are at Steyl, and the brother who is offering to act as our guide is a more interesting study. A Dutchman himself, he should properly be in one or other of the four houses belonging to the Dutch province. But Br. Vincent is proof-corrector (and, I suspect, much more besides) to the Dutch *Katholieke Missiën*, which is edited here ; and we soon found out that he knows all that a man need want to know about the printing and editing business.

Steyl's printing-works are famous. We spent two hours wandering from workshop to workshop, watching printing machines, big and small, being initiated into the mysteries of monotype, linotype and typograph, seeing compositors patiently at work on illegible MSS., and finally learning what has puzzled me for years—how an ordinary photograph is transformed into that mysterious entity, " a block." The lay-brother who took us through the various stages of that process, and the other lay-brother who showed us how they do their colour-printing in Steyl (and very good colour-printing it is), were typical of all that we saw. Both were plainly intelligent workmen, with the true artisan's interest in what he has made with his own hands—and both were even more plainly brothers of a religious congregation which has thrown its whole energy into the work of propagating the missionary idea.

For Steyl is a centre of missionary activity, though most of the brothers whom we saw at work will never set foot in a heathen

country. When Arnold Janssen first mooted his foundation, those who wished to work with him insisted that all those who entered the new house should be pledged to work in the missions proper. Janssen had a wider vision, and his stubborn determination to found a house (it was only later that he thought of founding a congregation) which should be adapted for work at home in support of the missions abroad, was a main cause of the storm which threatened to wreck Steyl within a year of its foundation. To-day no one questions the wisdom of his policy. The Society of the Divine Word has many foreign missions, and can claim two martyrs as well as many more priests and brothers who have died at work in missionary countries. But its work at home is hardly less important. The twenty-one schools and seminaries, the famous "Anthropos" Institute in Vienna for the study of primitive religions, the numerous missionary and religious papers edited at Steyl and in many other of the Society's houses (for every province and almost every mission has its own printing works)—these are the fruits of Arnold Janssen's quiet determination. And the brothers who spend their lives in the printing-works remember with pride Steyl's early years, when the founder himself took his turn at the primitive hand-press which was then their only printing machine. During our visit they were busy setting up a large rotatory machine of the latest type. It was pleasant to see the founder's portrait on the wall, and to think of all that has been accomplished since those early, difficult years.

And there is another purpose in all this printing and publishing activity, of which the Steyl Fathers have no need to be ashamed. Missionary work is, and will always be, dependent on the available financial resources. Money can be obtained by direct appeals to Catholic charity, and all missionary congregations are forced to act as beggars for Christ. But money can also be earned, and Father Janssen's children have set themselves the task of earning by their brains and their hands, the money they need. The papers which are published at Steyl find their way into almost every Catholic home in Germany and Holland—for the brothers act as travelling agents as well as printers, and an elaborate system of local promoters has been organised to supplement their activities. Some of these papers are missionary papers, with the usual appeals for funds. Others are ordinary Catholic papers, published as part of the general campaign for good literature, but sold in support of the Steyl missions: and they sell well, because they are well edited and well printed. The profit must be considerable, but the astonishing progress made by the Society of the Divine Word

in the last fifty years shows that the money has been well spent. Steyl has set the missionary world an example which will set many thinking in the future.

We spent the morning in the printing-works, and had meant to pay the Sisters a visit after dinner. But Brother Berchmans took charge of us for the afternoon, and I commend you to Brother Berchmans if you want to spend a strenuous couple of hours. There were first the butterflies and beetles; for the brother is, first and foremost, a collector of butterflies—and such butterflies! They asked for a selection of his specimens at the Vatican Exhibition, and Brother Berchmans must tell you himself what the Italians thought of his exhibits. "Bellissimo! Bellissimo!" cried the Pope, and clapped his hands in admiration. But your true collector never shows his best in public, and if the Holy Father wants to see the finest and rarest specimens he must pay Brother Berchmans a visit in his studio—surely the smallest and most crowded studio in the world; for the beetles and butterflies have long since grown out of all control. Their master lives to-day in a jungle of cupboards, cases, loose drawers, loose specimens, rare books and collector's catalogues.

After the butterflies came the museum—also organised by Brother Berchmans. For the young boys who spend their school-years in Steyl, this missionary museum must be a rare opportunity of letting loose those day-dreams which are the food of youthful ambition. In the middle of the hall stand relics of the two young German priests who gave their lives for Christ in the Shantung mission nearly thirty years ago. Pitiful, blood-stained garments, they need no word of explanation.

I thought at first that Brother Berchmans was only a collector, but I know better now. Only an enthusiast could have crammed so many beetles and butterflies into so small a space—and only an enthusiast could overcome the initial difficulties in an attempt to produce first-rate films of Catholic missionary life. We were shown into a large room, littered with more loose packing cases, exhibits for the museum, odds and ends of all sorts—and rolls of film. A sheet of white paper was nailed to the wall, a young German photographer, with the quick movements of an artist at his work, went to the lamp, and the show began. It was a film of the Steyl missions in the Dutch East Indies, and the photographs had been taken by this young German during a visit which had lasted eighteen months. "That's what my life was like for the past two years!" he remarked as he showed us a jungle-scene, with a cavalcade of pack horses crossing a river. And then came

specimens of the film itself—Hindu marriage and funeral rites (for there are Hindus in Bali), Hindu sacred dances, a stag-hunt, a devil-dance, and much else which I have forgotten. They say that previous films from Steyl have done well wherever they were shown. I agree with Brother Berchmans that this latest production—it is his fifth, I think—should capture every cinema theatre in Holland.

We would have spent much longer at the film, but our time was running out, and the two convents of nuns were still unvisited. Our way went right through the gardens, with innumerable hills and grottos; but my thoughts go back to the cemetery, so open and yet so quiet, with the founder's grave at the head of the walk. It was easy to pray there, so plainly did this man's work go beyond his natural powers; and yet his mark is on all that we had seen. And it was his spirit which met us once more in the convent chapel, where the Master is ever upon His altar, teaching, comforting, strengthening, receiving the homage of unceasing prayer. There are those who complain that Steyl is too busy, too successful: that modern methods of apostolate must necessarily imply a falling off in the spirit of prayer. My visit to the workshops had taught me the contrary: these grave-faced, silent workmen (some of them were mere boys) were thinking of more than the work which we saw. And there was no shock of contrast when we entered that quiet convent-chapel, and stayed for a moment to pray with the nuns.

As Brother Vincent walked back with me through the garden, asking me about Ireland and the work which Ireland was doing for the missions, I told him what I knew; but in my heart I envied Holland. Or is it Christian to envy your neighbour? In Arnold Janssen's home, during the tragic years which followed the famine of '48, father and children added to their ordinary family-prayer an "Our Father" for the Irish Catholics. "Noch ein Vaterunser für Irland!" was the elder brother's stern reminder, when some of the younger children were forgetting this self-imposed duty.[1] Perhaps Brother Vincent will imitate his founder's example; and perhaps some of my readers will repay a long-standing debt of piety by saying a prayer for the many hundred who work and pray in Steyl. A. Gwynn.

[1] The story is told by Fr. H. Fischer, S.V.D., in his *Arnold Janssen: Gründer des Steyler Missions Werks* (Steyl, 1919). The same author has also produced a jubilee-volume: *Im Dienste des göttlichen Wortes* (1875–1925).

REVIEWS

Archaeology

LE CALICE D'ANTIOCHE. Par Guillaume de Jerphanion, S.J. ["Orientalia Christiana," vol. vii.] Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum. 1926. 40 lire.

THE campaign of advertisement which has made us all familiar with the discovery of a chalice dating from the first century A.D., possibly the actual chalice used by Our Lord at the Last Supper, began in America during the war, but was not carried across the Atlantic before 1924. Dr. Gustavus A. Eisen, who owes his degree to this same newspaper campaign, published a series of articles on the new find in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1916-1917, and in the *New Era Magazine* for 1920. But the official publication of his prolonged researches, published by Messrs. Kouchakji, the present owners of the chalice, did not appear until the end of 1923 under the title: *The Great Chalice of Antioch, on which are depicted in sculpture the earliest known portraits of Christ, the Apostles and Evangelists.* Though the price of these two folio volumes makes them inaccessible to most readers, it is worth while consulting at least the second volume in some public library, for the sake of seeing to what a point of perfection modern photographic methods have been brought. None of Dr. Eisen's critics have objected to his plates.

The advertising campaign has spent its force by now, and the Great Chalice has not yet been sold. This delay may be due to the worldly wisdom of Messrs. Kouchakji, who acquired the chalice from a mysterious group of Arab workmen in 1913. Possibly also it is due to the worldly wisdom of prospective buyers who are apt to be critical of such finds. More than one story as to the *provenance* of the chalice is already in circulation, and the possibility of a fraud, more daring even than the "discovery" of Livy's complete text five or six years ago, is not yet excluded. Only a very few have been allowed to see the original chalice, which is at present in safe keeping somewhere in New York: the rest must judge as best they can from Dr. Eisen's photographs, which are excellent, and from his statements, which are for the most part simply incredible. Critic after critic has pointed out that no serious proof has been brought for the early date of the chalice; that Dr. Eisen's identification of the portraits is wholly subjective; that his comparisons with "contemporary" Greek and Roman art are, to put it mildly, inconclusive; and that the text of his first volume is full of the most astonishing blunders. Proper names are confused or

mis-spelt, authorities are wrongly quoted, probabilities and possibilities become certainties, awkward facts are simply ignored. One amazing example will suffice. The outer chalice, which Dr. Eisen explains as a decorative framework for the interior sacred vessel, contains two seated figures of Our Lord, round which are grouped ten other seated figures. Dr. Eisen identifies four of these figures as a group of the four Evangelists, and is ready to name each one. Yet he dates the workmanship of the outer chalice exactly to 64 A.D.—a date at which no critic imagines that the four gospels had been written.

But the problem of the chalice remains, even though we may ignore Dr. Eisen. Is it a forgery, or a genuine work of Christian art? If genuine (and no critic has yet denied its authenticity), what is its date? Professor Strzygowski of Vienna is the only European critic who publicly accepts Dr. Eisen's conclusions. Mr. A. B. Cook of Cambridge objects to the American's "unscholarly" methods, but cannot resist the temptation of dating the chalice to about 100 A.D. The seated Christ, he holds, is the Christian counterpart to the seated figures of Roman Emperors, and the vine which covers the chalice is a Syrian symbol, borrowed from the popular Asiatic cult of Zeus Dionysios. [I am not inventing: these things are said and, I suppose, believed in Cambridge to-day.] Most other European critics are content to date the chalice to about the 4th century A.D.: Sir Martin Conway's guess—"5th or perhaps 6th century"—is usually considered too late a date. In America archaeologists have been on the whole much more favourable to Dr. Eisen's theories.

Father de Jerphanion's book, the first comprehensive study of the problems raised by the new chalice, is doubly welcome in the midst of such confusion. The author, who is Professor of Christian Archaeology in the new Oriental Institute at Rome, speaks with unusual authority; for he is a specialist in the Christian art of Syria and Asia Minor, and the chalice is said to have been found in Antioch. The first, and shorter, half of his work (pp. 13-55) deals with Dr. Eisen and contains a long catalogue of "unscholarly" statements to be found in the American publication. Even more useful than this list of misdemeanours are the photographs of Graeco-Roman cups of the first century A.D. with which Dr. Eisen had compared the chalice. Set beside Father de Jerphanion's drawings from the chalice (for Messrs. Kouchakji refused him the use of their plates) they show better than any printed commentary the sheer

audacity of Dr. Eisen's claims. Then follows (pp. 59-166) a detailed study of the chalice as compared with later monuments of Christian art, illustrated by many admirable photographs and drawings. The seated figures of the apostles round Christ, each holding a scroll in the left hand whilst the right hand is raised in a gesture of acclamation, find their closest parallels in an ivory pyx now in the Berlin museum, and especially in the mosaics and sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th centuries. Other details point to a later date: the form of the chalice itself, the lamb at the Saviour's right hand, the key which St. Peter holds (or seems to hold) in his left hand. One of the symbols is particularly noteworthy: an eagle at the feet of Christ. Mr. A. B. Cook fell in love with this eagle at first sight: it was the final proof of parallelism between Christ and the Roman emperors. (Imagine an early Christian choosing the Roman eagle as an attribute of Christ!). Father de Jerphanion argues with great learning that the eagle first appears as a Christian symbol in Egypt, where it was used to typify Christ's resurrection and our resurrection in Christ: *renovabitur ut aquilae iuventus tua.* From Egypt the symbol spread to Syria and the East, but it is not commonly used before the 6th century.

These arguments establish more than the probable date of the chalice: they are the best proof so far offered of its authenticity. For a puzzle becomes a guarantee of truth once its solution has been found; and it seems to an amateur that Father de Jerphanion has solved more than one of the puzzles connected with the famous chalice. One question must remain unanswered. Assuming the authenticity of the chalice, can we be certain that all the details of its workmanship are ancient? When first photographed in 1913, the chalice was covered with a coat of oxydation which obscured many of its details. This coat has now been removed, and the fine technique of heads and drapery has been a main argument against a late date. Father de Jerphanion maintains that the drapery at any rate has been retouched, and illustrates his point with drawings in default of photographs. Drawings made to illustrate a point are inevitably subjective, and the author himself points out this defect. Even Dr. Eisen's large-scale photographs do not finally settle the point: we must wait until Messrs. Kouchakji have found a purchaser who is not afraid of open criticism. Meanwhile the partial success of this curious press-campaign interests the philosopher even more than the archaeologist.

A. G.

Biography

MICHAEL COLLINS AND THE MAKING OF A NEW IRELAND. By Piaras Béaslaí. 2 vols. Dublin: Phoenix Publishing Company. 1926. 42s. net.

MR. BEASLEY'S long expected life of Michael Collins will be received with feelings of disappointment. As one reads and handles the two bulky and clumsy volumes in which he has accomplished his task, one feels the significance of the old Greek saying: "a big book is a great evil." Mr. Beasley has sown with the sack not with the hand, with the result that he has brought together a mass of facts, undigested and uncorrelated, so that the reader finds himself in the position of a mariner without compass or guidance on an uncharted sea. In the mass of detail one cannot see the wood for the trees, and the reader who comes to the volumes with no personal knowledge of the man that Michael Collins was, will find himself at the end as ignorant of the real Collins as he was at the beginning.

Perhaps the truth is that the task undertaken by the writer is at present impossible to accomplish successfully. We are still too near in time to the events of which these volumes are a record to view them in just perspective, or to estimate duly those concerned in them. Mr. Beasley, indeed, does not so much estimate as baldly chronicle. It is not unfair to say of many of his pages that they resemble the ingenuous cataloguing that one finds in the unsophisticated narratives of the old historiographers. Taking it merely as a chronicle one might say that it has value as a quarry for future historians; but this value would depend on the accuracy of the record, and one feels that owing to the nature of much of its matter this accuracy must be lacking, with the result that Mr. Beasley's story is frequently wanting in verisimilitude.

A feature of the volume that irritates a reader is the writer's determination to set himself prominently in the picture. He constantly suggests that he was in the inner circle, and was consulted and gave advice at critical moments; but one feels that one's own knowledge of the history of Ireland of those years, gathered as it was from the haphazard accounts of the daily press or made up of the gossip and rumours of the day, does not differ very much from what Mr. Beasley tells us with the manner of one having revelations of great import to impart. Take for instance his story of Easter Week or of the incidents that led to it. In what essential does it differ from what the average

man, outside the inner circle, knew or thought he knew ? How does Mr. Beasley's version clear up what is mysterious or doubtful in our ideas of the events of those days ? The plain truth is that Mr. Beasley tells us what we knew already—which in fact is not very much.

The book is a eulogy of Michael Collins, and one instinctively feels that much in his life and character is deserving of eulogy, but one must also say that the writer is not always happy in his choice of matter to justify his eulogy. One feels that Collins was a bigger man than he appears as presented in these pages, where the manner of portraiture seems more suited to a picture post-card hero or a figure in a sensation cinema film. Collins will be remembered as a man of action and determination in a critical time, rather than as the hero of the romantic escapades, whether actual or mythical, which bulk so large in this story of his life.

A word must be said of the manner in which the writer deals with opponents (*i.e.*, the Irish opponents) of the policy of the years 1916-21. The author's own account shows that there was not, even in the inner circles, any unanimity of approval for much of its methods and aims. In fact, he goes out of his way to minimise the importance, in those years, and to question the motives of certain persons from whom he and his associates parted later, but whom he and his associates at the time agreed to present to the public as the greatest figures in Irish history. If there was such bad material in the green wood, why be indignant at the defects of the dry ? There were Irishmen who did not see the wisdom of the course along which Ireland was led in those days ; they were mistaken or prejudiced if one wishes to have it so, but surely they were entitled to follow their own judgments even if they were wrong. It is rather late in the day for Mr. Beasley's semi-resurrection of the story of the House of Commons cheers by Irishmen at the announcement of the shootings of the Easter Week leaders—a story which has been denied by Mr. William O'Brien, whose testimony on such a matter must be held to be free from the bias of partiality. Mr. Beasley at times shows a lack of generosity which is surprising in a partisan of the victorious cause.

The book is a monument to its writer's commemorative instinct and to his tenderness towards those of his friends whose names he recalls. In fact his proneness to mention the names of those concerned in the various sensational happenings he records reminds one of Cowper's unkind lines on those who

attempt to give immortality to names born to be forgot. This is part of his general inability to discriminate in his use of the material at his disposal between the cardinal happenings and those that are unimportant and merely trivial.

Big and imposing as those volumes are, one feels that they do not contain the final verdict on Michael Collins or the events in which he was so intimately concerned. W. J. W.

EDMUND IGNATIUS RICE AND THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS. By a Christian Brother. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1926. Pp. ix., 544. 12s. 6d.

THE scope of this valuable addition to the literature on Catholic Education in Ireland is accurately set out in its title. We have here the first really adequate account of Brother Rice and of his associates and friends; and it is from this complete basis that the writer of this fine volume develops the outline of his account of the work of the Irish Christian Brothers, in Ireland and all over the world, down to the present times. The nineteenth century in Ireland has, by some perfervid but unreflecting men of letters, been regarded as a period of national weakness, if not of national decline. Were this one book to stand alone, it would serve to show the utter falsity of such a view. The last century was a period of great and enduring constructive work. Typical at once of the difficulties, the persistence, and the success of such work, is this account of the very specific and distinctive task begun by Edmund Rice at Waterford in 1802.

To that narrative is prefixed an introduction of some forty pages, giving a clear and orderly statement of the constructive side of English educational policy in Ireland during the whole of the eighteenth century. It was aimed at "the reduction of Popery"; it was, both in the opinion of the Ascendancy and in the minds of the Irish people, a total failure. The narrative on the successive stages of this State Policy in Education is clear and orderly: it would have gained if some of the descriptive outline of public affairs were replaced by facts as to the actual extent of the operations of these various types of "English Schools." They operated throughout the following century also, but we are given little account of them. The counter-policy of the Holy See as to popular education in Ireland is dwelt on only in connection with the well-known controversies as to the new National Board, 1831–1850. It had been developed long before 1831, and some exposition of its characteristic features would have been pertinent and valuable.

Substantially speaking, the work of Edmund Ignatius Rice and his associates lay in the larger Irish cities and towns. Their population had grown rapidly from 1780 to 1840, and the pro-

vision of Catholic popular schools, in proportion to that growth, was a pressing problem. The Catholic population of all Irish cities and towns, down to 1840, was under the close control of the Ascendancy. The people of the country districts, unaided, had developed a fine system of schools, "hedge-schools" and other, giving an education easily superior in quality to that given to any people elsewhere in Europe or in America It has never received adequate esteem and respect. Brother Rice and his fellow-workers rightly concentrated on the cities and towns; there they were more needed.

From many points of view the most valuable document adduced in this fully-documented survey of a century and a quarter of educational activity, is the "Regulations" for the conduct of schoolwork, sent by Edmund Rice to Archbishop Bray, at Thurles, in 1810. It occupies three pages. It is thoroughly Irish, and affords excellent material for minute comparative study. It is in form quite independent of the system of De La Salle, though the Irish Congregation later on (1817) adopted much of the *Constitution* and *form of government* of the great French institute. They did so under the direction of Archbishop Murray and of Father Peter Kenney, S.J., but they were careful to define it into being "suited to the needs of Ireland and the character of her people." It is clear that the basic elements of organisation and of method are really our own. They emerge from the methods used in the popular schools of the penal times: they give these absolutely Irish methods regularity, stability, development. They were good methods, and the proof of their good-quality is the fact that they have stood firm throughout all these years.

This most serviceable work closes with a brief but clear reference (pages 524-5) to the consequences of the action of December, 1921, whereby the National Board of Education "was summarily relieved of its responsibilities." One consequence of considerable moment was the inclusion (1925) of the Christian Schools in the National System of Primary Schools, a step carefully and wisely taken, and certain to lead to results at once permanent and fruitful. It furnishes an adequate occasion for the production of this fine yet unassuming record of service to Catholic Ireland and to many other scenes of Catholic work in true and integral education. T. C.

VITA DI S. FRANCESCO D'ASSISI. By Luigi Salvatorelli. Bari: Laterza. 1926. L.13.50.

This new life of St. Francis presents itself to us in the guise of a simple story, without any array of notes, references, or authorities. The author dedicates it to the memory of his mother and

uncle, of Assisi, from whom he "learned to love St. Francis and his city." The story is told with so much skill, vividness, and charm, that we too learn to love St. Francis and to realise him more truly than before.

For while he still appears to us as a passionate poet and the wandering minstrel of God, we run no risk of thinking of him entirely as the hero of the *Fioretti*—that book is not once mentioned—and of all the reason-confounding incidents which for many make up his life. Legend is not excluded from the narrative, but on occasion it is set out as legend. Miracle is signally absent, except the reverently related story of the stigmata. St. Francis's love of animals is just the idealisation of a refined human feeling, sublimated in the crucible of his fiery soul, and rational because transfused by his love of God and God's creatures.

The whole unity of his life comes from his intense, impulsive character, always thirsting for an ideal, and finding his ideal literally realised in Christ. Having lived this ideal to the best of his power, he thus prefaced one of his attempts at shaping it into a rule for his brethren: "This is the life of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

In that age of great religious conflict, he stands out as one who, humanly speaking, worked by the sheer force of his personality and example. If he and his followers had unparalleled success in comforting and uplifting the multitude of ordinary struggling humanity, it was because of that; for his movement was by no means isolated. He completely lacked governing and organizing power such as characterised his great contemporary St. Dominic; hence the saddening differences of opinion and method between him and farther-seeing men like Cardinal Ugolino d'Ostia, afterwards Gregory IX, and Brother Elias. But he had given a creative impulse. Indeed it is encouraging to see a man who so obviously lacked important qualities reach such unspeakable heights by those he had; for he suggests that to live the life is to plant the surest seed of sanctity, even though others must tend its growth and development.

It is the best commentary on the book in question to say that all this and much more is borne home by it. It reminds one of Manzoni in its literary method—the allusion to him on p. 108 is not quite accidental—and in certain touches of humour. We have the most loving and localised pictures of the Italian country-side; and broad chapters dealing with that complex period, filled with contests between the Communes and their

over-lords, between Empire and Papacy, city and city, faction and faction, clergy and civil authorities. Against the topographical and historical background the man Francis, through adventure after adventure, pursues his course of literal wandering and spiritual advance, crying to all: *Dio vi dia pace.*

The author is akin to his beloved saint in being humanly simple, imaginative, poetic. M. R.

Celtica

CIOTH IS DEALAN. Máire do scríobh. Preas Dhún Dealgan. 125ll. 4s.

Ba mhaith an mhaise do Mháire "Cioth is Dealán" a thoghadh mar ainm do'n leabhar seo. Is amhlaidh atá seacht gcinn de sceultaibh gearra ann agus bun is bárr gach scéil aca—cúrsaí grádha! Daoine ag tuitim i ngrádh agus ag tuitim as arís; cleamhnais dá ndéanamh agus dá mbriseadh; bainis agus faire. Taisbeánann Máire do'n léightheoir daoine fé árd-áthas—agus briseadh croidhe ag déanamh ortha ar cos i n-áirde; daoine ag gáiridhe go geal—agus daoine ag gol go geur, an sonas is an donas i n-diaidh a chéile, nó, i n-a fhriotal féin, "Cioth is Dealán."

'Sé mo thuairim, ámh, go bhfuil an leabhar cosamhail leis an aimsir a bhíonn againn i n-Eirinn, go bhfuil barraidheacht ceatha ann. Tá níos mó go mór de'n Chioth ins na sceultaibh seo ná mar a bhfuil de'n Dealán, óir, má's minic agus má's trom iad na ceathanna, is annamh iad na dealáin agus is lag. Ní h-é is mian liom a rádh gur locht é seo, ach ar léigheamh an leabhair dom, is fíor gur fágadh go duairc, do-shásta mé. Má cheapann éinne ó'n mhéid seo nach bhfuil na sceulta suimeamhail, so-léighte, tá mearbhall air. Tá fhios ag an saoghal gur rí-mhaith an sás é Máire chum sceulta a chumadh, agus ag cumadh na sceul seo dhó, is léir gur bhain sé feidhm mhaith as an fhéith sceulaidheachta atá aige. 'Sé rud a bhí uaidh ach samhailt an tsaoghail a thabhairt dúinn agus, dár ndóigh, níor theip air. I dtosach an leabhair tá sean-rann scriobhtha aige mar leanas:—

"Samhailt a bherim don t-saoghal
Spéir thaodach lá earraigh,
'S go dtig toil agus neamh-thoil
Mar thig cioth agus dealán."

Samhailt a thabhairt do'n t-saoghal. B'fhéidir nach ar an scríobhnóir ach ar an saoghal atá an locht má's é an gol-traidhe an ceol is treise ins na sceultaibh agus má's iad "coraí cruadha an tsaoghail" an t-ádhbhar is lionmhaire ionnta.

Ni lúghaide cliú is cáil Mháire an leabhar seo, ach, ó chodarnsna, is ag borradh a bhéas siad.

Tá a gcuid de'n obair déanta go slachtmhar ag na clódóiríbh ach tá luach an leabhair go ró-mhór ar fad—dá mbéadh a leath air, bhéadh sé daor go leor. S. MacM.

SGEAL ANAMA. Beathafhéinscríbhinn Naoimh Treasa leis an Leanbh Iosa. An t-Athair Benedicht, O.C.D., d'aistrigh ó'n bhFrainncís. Siuracha Lughaidh Naomhtha i gClochar Choillte Mágha d'fhoillsigh. Muinntir Chathail, Teó., Baile Atha Cliath do chuir i gcló; 221 leathanaigh. 6s.

An leabhar is fearr a tháinig amach leis na bliadhnaibh iseadh an leabhar so. Tá moladh agus buidheachas ag dul do gach aoinne go raibh a lámh 'san obair. Ní gádh cur síos do dhéanamh ar ádhbhar an leabhair, mar is dócha go bhfuil sé léighte cheana ag a lán againn 'sa bhFrainncís bhunaigh nó i mBéarla. Beidh áthas is bród ar Ghaedhilgeóirí, ámhthach, é d'fhagháil 'nár dteangain féin, agus féadaimíd maoidheamh as, tá sé chomh h-áluinn, chomh deas san. Ní mór focal molta fé leith do thabhairt do'n Athair Benedicht, mar gheall ar a fheabhas do dhein sé a chuid féin de'n obair. Do chlaoidh sé go dlúth leis an bhFrainncís, ach ar a shon san, bhéadh amhras ort ó am go h-am nach Franncach a bhí i dTreasa Naomhtha, ach Gaedheal, ritheann an Ghaedhealg chomh nádúrtha san.

Is furasda a rádh go bhfuil grádh do'n Ghaedhilg againn, ach sgéal eile ar fad iseadh é nuair a iarrtar orainn airgead do shíneadh amach chun a chruthuighthe. Mar sin, taisbeánann Siuracha Lughaidh Naomhtha go bhfuil grádh ceart aca do'n Ghaedhilg agus do Threasa Naomhtha. Thógadar ortha féin costas iomlán an leabhair. Ba chúis náire dhúinn, dá gcaillfidís airgead (d'á bhárr), agus an té a cheannuigheann cóip de'n leabhar, chídhfidh sé nach iad na Siuracha a bhéas fé chomaoin aige, ach é féin aca san.

Do dhein na clódóirí a gcion de'n obair go righ-mhaith. Ní fhacas leabhar Ghaedhilge níos deise, ná níos slachtmhaire ná an ceann so, agus is beag leabhar ar aon chor a gheóbhair, chomh deagh-déanta, ar sé sgillinge. Aoinne a théigheann isteach i siopa ag féachaint air, agus ar na peictiúirí go h-áirighthe, tiocfaidh se amach níos boichte dé reir airgid, ach beidh sóinseál maith aige. Ní'l locht ar bith agam ar an leabhar, agus ní'l 'ghá innsint agam ach lom na fírinne.

A. Ó F.

Classics

PLATO: THE MAN AND HIS WORK. By A. E. Taylor. London: Methuen. 1926. 21s. net.

THIS book will undoubtedly prove an immense boon both to classical students who read Plato without any philosophical training, and to philosophical students who wish to find out what Plato really says. Far too many standard commentaries render the task of understanding him nearly impossible by reading into him a "system" invented by some modern thinker. Professor Taylor prefaces his work by two short but rich chapters on Plato's life and on his writings, giving us an excellent resumé of the best results of scholarship on the ever-debated question of the order of the Dialogues. Then follow seventeen chapters which deal with the subject-matter of the Dialogues, grouping those which can most conveniently be treated together. Professor Taylor begins his treatment of each with a brief discussion of the date of its composition and the imagined date of the conversation it purports to report, and then goes on to paraphrase its subject-matter, with a running commentary on philosophical lines and with many most useful criticisms of Plato's leading opinions from a modern standpoint. All through he insists soundly on the visible development of these opinions and on the historical and dramatic element never absent from even the dullest Platonic work. "If Plato had a system," he says, "he refuses to tell us what it was."

Professor Taylor does not slavishly follow any "authority"—he is in fact rather contemptuous of authorities—in his chronology of the dialogues, and breaks new ground notably in his rejection of Wilamowitz's early dating for the *Protagoras* and his placing of the *Gorgias* instead near the beginning of Plato's literary activities. For this course there are at any rate sound stylistic reasons, and one important result of it is that the *Protagoras* is put side by side with the *Phaedo*, *Symposium* and *Republic* at about 387 B.C., and is treated as giving an aspect of Socrates' teaching complementary to what we find in the *Phaedo*. He refuses to take the *Parmenides* for more than "an elaborate *jeu d'esprit*," thus rejecting earlier conclusions of his own, and incidentally agreeing with the view of Wilamowitz, which he does not mention, that it was intended as an *Ubungstück* for the Academy. His treatment of the *Laws* is in refreshing contrast, however, to that scholar's. Whereas the Berlin professor thinks that "those who are in search, as philosophers, of Plato's

philosophy, may spare themselves the labour which this difficult book has in store for its readers," and calls it a poor, unplatonic work, Professor Taylor more justly sees in its textual difficulties evidence of its unfinished state, and considers that it " contains Plato's latest and ripest thought on the subjects which he had all through his life most at heart—ethics, education, and jurisprudence." His discussion of its contents will without doubt lead to a revival of interest in its many modern features, such as its advocacy of prohibition, its demand for secondary education, and that historical sense evident in it which makes Plato an exception to Spengler's dictum about the Greeks in general. It is curious, however, that in his bibliography for the " *Laws* " Professor Taylor does not mention the most recent English commentary.

Those who are familiar with the earlier works which have given Professors Taylor and Burnet a place of their own in Platonic studies will of course look with most interest for the treatment accorded to Socrates. The point of view that Plato's picture of him is historically correct has been unhesitatingly adopted throughout the book, and pieces of evidence which are sometimes held to militate against this view, such as the prominence of the " Idea of Good " in the *Republic*, are interpreted in a sense favourable to it. Most of what is usually regarded as the earlier Platonism is treated as being Socratic and even partly Pythagorean doctrine. It remains, however, to show what Plato's own metaphysical position was, and this both Burnet and Taylor find in the *Philebus* and more explicitly in Aristotle's teaching about Platonic " numbers," which they think is largely based on a famous lecture of Plato's on " The Good." In his last chapter Professor Taylor essays an account of this mature Platonism, but it is clear that he and Professor Burnet are not in complete harmony about it, and much work remains to be done before definiteness can be reached. The doctrine at any rate was highly mathematical and has many curious affinities with modern efforts to apply mathematics to metaphysics.

It would be impossible to deal adequately with the wealth of comment and exposition contained in the book, but we may emphasise one point in conclusion. Professor Taylor strives throughout to bring Plato's thought to bear on modern problems and ideas. He thus is especially helpful in his chapter on the *Phaedo*, for example, where he criticises the Socratic proof of immortality in a manner almost unknown to the text-books; and the greatest value of his book will be that it will compel

the student to do what he rightly insists was always Plato's ideal for *his* students—think for himself. There is hardly a single problem in Platonic teaching on which the book will not shed the light, not of cold dogmatism, but of earnest, well-informed, and sympathetic inquiry. M. T.

Economics

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF IRISH EGG PRODUCTION, PRICES AND TRADE. By John Busteed, M.Comm. Cork University Press. 1926. 1*s.* net.

This is the second agricultural bulletin published by the Cork University Press, and Professor Busteed and the University are to be congratulated on its appearance. Professor Busteed derived most of his material for this study from the records of the egg-laying contests at the Munster Institute during the years 1912-1924. The records were extensive, comprising those of 2,666 pullets (Wyandottes, Leghorns and Rhode Islands), which laid 470,720 eggs, or an average of 177 in each eleven months' contest. It was found that the Wyandottes had the best individual pullets and the best average throughout, the Leghorns ranking next in merit, and the Rhode Islands last. In each breed, in the various years, the egg-laying records were distributed within 25 per cent. above and below the average. The Rhode Islands were on the whole the most compact group and the Wyandottes the least compact. The Wyandotte averages for Cork surpass those in the English, American or South African contests. For Rhode Islands the Cork averages are above the South African and Canadian, but below the Australian and considerably below the English figures. For both Wyandottes and Rhode Islands the Irish contests show greater uniformity than the American, Canadian or Australian, but show less than the English.

The frequency distribution, showing the number of birds which lay various numbers of eggs each year, have very curious characteristics. In 1909 Professor Raymond Pearl found that the frequency distributions for the monthly egg production of Barred Plymouth Rocks were distinctly bimoval in some degree. These results were also found for annual frequency distributions by later investigators, and the results were published in the *Storrs Bulletin.* Professor Busteed now finds that his series fairly definitely confirm these results of his predecessors in that the frequency distribution for Rhode Island Reds, Leghorns and Wyandottes are all compound. This result would be consistent with the hypothesis that each apparently homogeneous breed of birds is in reality made up of two or more sub-types each with a definitely distinct capacity for egg-laying. As Professor Busteed says, if this were confirmed by later data it would be a highly important conclusion.

L.

Dealing with the economic aspects of egg production, it was found that, when birds were divided into types according to their annual average production of eggs, each type maintains its relative position in each month of the year. There is, however, a very different seasonal variation in laying for each type. The better the type, the more it tends to lay throughout the whole year.

It is shown that Irish egg prices fluctuate during the year within approximately 40 per cent. of their mean level. As supplies vary more than prices, Irish egg production must vary more than 40 per cent. during the year. This leads Professor Busteed to conclude that, on the average, Irish hens are at best only Type IV (less than 150 eggs per annum). Further evidence is adduced to show that in fact the average hen is only Type V (0 to 100 eggs per annum). That is not a brilliant record. R. C. G.

REPORTS OF THE IMPERIAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ON MARKETING AND PREPARING FOR MARKET OF FOODSTUFFS PRODUCED IN THE OVERSEAS PARTS OF THE EMPIRE: First Report—General; Fourth Report—Dairy Produce. London: Stationery Office. 1926. 9*d*. and 1*s*. respectively.

THE Imperial Economic Committee was appointed in 1925 "to consider the possibility of improving the methods of preparing for market and marketing within the United Kingdom the food products of the overseas parts of the Empire with a view to increasing the consumption of such products in the United Kingdom in preference to imports from foreign countries, and to promote the interests both of producers and consumers." Imperial preference by means of tariffs and subsidies was excluded from the terms of reference of the Committee. Obviously the solution of the problem of increasing inter-imperial trade without the assistance of tariffs or bounties necessitates action both in Great Britain, the consuming country, and in the various dominions, the producing countries. The Committee recommends that the right course of action for the British Government is to assist in the identification of imperial produce, and to direct the attention of the public to the desirability of consuming it in preference to foreign produce by means of a campaign of publicity. Effect has been given to these recommendations by the British Government's grant of a million pounds to the Empire Markets Board.

The dominions on their side must attempt to meet the demand of the British market by maintaining the quality, quantity and continuity of supplies. The Free State, it is pointed out in the Report on Dairy Produce, enjoys a unique advantage by being situated sufficiently near the British market to send fresh farm

products, but hitherto the full benefit of this advantage has not been secured owing to faulty methods of production and marketing. The following warning sentence is italicized in the report: "It must be recognized that the Irish Free State cannot hope even to retain its present position in a severely competitive market, much less to improve that position, if the whole body of producers do not keenly and speedily interest themselves in attaining efficiency in production by the adoption of methods which world-wide experience has now shown to be needful." The whole trend of the report emphasizes the necessity for modern standardized production, and confirms the wisdom of the agricultural policy of the Irish Government. If the Irish farmer is in a position to ensure a continuous supply of breakfast table articles of the highest quality, he will have no difficulty in finding a ready sale for them. The principal services that the Government can render are education, the control of exports, and the organization of marketing in Great Britain.

G. O'B.

Fiction

GREAT SHORT STORIES OF THE WORLD. Chosen by Barret H. Clarke and Maxim Lieber. London: Heinemann. 1926. 1088 pp. 8s. 6d. net.

GEORGIAN STORIES. 1926. London: Chapman and Hall. 291 pp. 7s. 6d. net.

It is not an easy task to review the first of these collections. A thousand pages, nearly two hundred stories, every age and nation from ancient Egypt to very modern America—what is one to say of it all? Well, in the first place, in sheer bulk and get-up it is marvellously good value for the money. Secondly, it has had a marked success, 30,000 copies being called for in six months. At a first reading one would not have expected this last. Many of the older stories have a directness of plot and an innocence of ornament which, though it is the secret of their greatness, would not seem likely to prove acceptable to the ordinary modern reader brought up in the tradition of a highly-refined technique and an over-refined vocabulary. Again there is the difficulty that five-sixths of the stories are translations, and translation at best is but a half-way house. The translations in this case are on the whole excellently done; but at the native quality of the stories one can only guess. To realise what they have lost in the re-telling, it is only necessary to ask oneself what, for instance, would Stevenson's "Thrawn Janet"—rightly included in the present volume—be if robbed of its Scots telling. A nut without its flavour, a spring without

its sparkle; some figure of the sort is alone adequate to suggest the loss of something so sweet, so rare, and so elusive.

Perhaps the success of these stories is in large measure due to the sweeping view they give us of the imaginative mind of man. Much has been written and doubtless will be written about epoch-making "movements" and sharply-defined "schools" in literature. Yet when one takes, as in this collection of stories, any kind of a birdseye view of some form of literary activity, what strikes one most is not the vast differences one sees, but the amazing sameness. In the short story it is above all sameness of theme that is apparent, possibly because in the short story theme is so easily detached from background. Take for instance the English short-story as exemplified in *Great Short Stories of the World*—and we may appropriately include the volume of *Georgian Stories* for 1926 to bring our survey right up to the present day. We start with Beowulf, Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Mabinogion, pass by Malory to Defoe, Addison and Goldsmith, join the moderns with Scott, and then by way of Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Stevenson and Wilde, come to the present day with Hardy and George Moore. The Georgian Stories give us a newer, lesser and lighter company, names familiar to the average magazine reader, Denis Mackail, William Gerhardi, Somerset Maugham, Geoffrey Moss and a dozen others. And when we ask ourselves, in the child's phrase: "what's the story all about," it is a very homely and familiar litany that comes up: Friendship, Selfishness, Love (with Sad and Happy Ending), Heroism of Hopeless Causes, Courage in Adversity, Escape from Death, Apparitions from the Tomb, Family Life (Comic, Tragic, or more usually both), Fear, Swindling, Madness, Revenge and Death. They are all such old friends of ours, at least on the printed page, that one realises that it is one of the story-teller's greatest triumphs to be able to humbug us into letting them be introduced to us every day as new and interesting strangers.

But this perpetual recurrence of fundamental themes is of course a truism patent to the most casual amateur of fiction. In one of the most recent studies of the modern short story,[1] Mr. A. C. Ward has remarked with all reverence that the themes of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son have been repeated, imitated, and used as themes for variations by every age and class of writer. The same writer says well of R. L. Stevenson, in the same connection, that he "is beloved not because he dressed his phrases in purple and fine linen, but because he knew

[1] *Aspects of the Modern Short Story* (University of London Press).

that fairies and bogies, and tears, and courage, and kindly sentiment are cherished in common by the greatest and the least among men." And indeed this truism of the ultimate sameness of fiction is based upon the other, and even more obvious, truism of the ultimate sameness of human nature. Seven centuries ago Saint Thomas divided all the passions into eleven species, and I do not think that the most up-to-date psychology—beyond calling some of them complexes—has improved on his classification.

A welcome feature of *Great Short Stories* is its freedom from the nauseating sexual stuff that is spoiling modern fiction of all kinds to-day. The older writers who predominate in this collection were cleaner than the moderns because they were sounder. They had not lost the idea of purpose in sex, and they introduced it therefore, as it is meant to be, for a purpose. Our moderns have no purpose; they simply spatter sex about, and spattering anything about means dirt. With this record of four thousand years of story-writing before them, many even of our ablest modern writers might meditate with salutary results the plain fact that the dirty stuff does not live. It is an interesting corollary that the one or two of the *Georgian Stories* which show traces of this regrettable modern trend are among the very few poor specimens in the collection. F. McG.

LA CHERCHEUSE D'AMOUR. By Louis Artus. Paris: Grasset. 1926. 12 fr.

In *la Maison du Sage*, reviewed in STUDIES of September 1925, Louis Artus handled a problem which he carried relentlessly to its logical conclusion: what becomes of merely human high principle in a struggle with the temptations of life. In this new book, more moving and more convincing because fraught with much deeper emotion, he analyses another soul struggle. The seeker after love, Esther Manas, is a child born in a foul purlieu of Venice, daughter of a Jewish barmaid and a Norwegian sailor, grudgingly brought up by a miserly Jewish grandfather who hates the Christian strain—he had himself married a Christian—in his grandchild. Of her mixed ancestry, and in her loveless but strange and picturesque surroundings, she develops extraordinary beauty, a pure spring of generous pity, a thirst for self-sacrifice, and "an insatiable need of light." The successive objects of her love—except the first, a crippled street-boy to whom she devotes herself in a burst of pity—disappoint her one after the other, leaving her athirst for a higher ideal. The gay and pleasure-loving Guido; the Jewish scientist Karl Emmer,

scientific to the point of inhumanity; the prince Analcanti, artist and philanthropist; the revolutionary Russian idealist Dmitry, are followed by the French Catholic Lancelot through whom she gets to know the Catholic Church. Once converted, she renounces marriage with him in a spirit of pure mysticism and expiation.

The story is enthralling, though painful because it deals with the terrible realities of a life long without God in this world. The book is full of vivid scenes and descriptions from that of a Venetian ghetto to a Bolshevik government department, or a Parisian theosophist salon. The secondary figures are all living and drawn with much psychological insight. In short it is a book well worth reading, full of food for reflection, conveying still more clearly than its predecessor the high spiritual outlook of its author. M. R.

History

ROMAN SOCIETY IN GAUL IN THE MEROVINGIAN AGE. By Sir Samuel Dill. London: Macmillan. 1926. 21s. net.

Two earlier works on Roman Society by the late Sir Samuel Dill are universally known for their monumental scholarship and distinguished style. He had intended to make them into a trilogy with the present work, covering the social history of the Western Empire from Nero to the seventh century A.D. At the time of his death the concluding volume had reached its present form, and it has been seen through the press by Mr. C. B. Armstrong of St. Columba's College, Rathfarnham. Its author did not live to put the last touches on his work, and the heavy labour of supplying notes and references has been performed by the learning and piety of Dr. L. C. Purser and Professor R. M. Henry. When it is realised that without these notes it would have been very difficult for the student to test Sir Samuel's conclusions by reference to their sources, and that little assistance was given to the task by the manuscript, it will be seen how valuable a contribution these scholars have made to their friend's work.

This book has all the solid qualities that might be expected from its author, complete mastery of the sources, and a critical utilisation of modern authorities. In both cases the field is much more limited for this than for the two preceding volumes; for the works of Gregory of Tours and the Frankish and Burgundian Laws are practically the only original sources for this period, while, except in the domain of law, modern writers on it are not

numerous, and controversies are confined to a few special questions. With these questions, such as the origin of Merovingian institutions and the relative importance under the Frankish kings of Franks and Gallo-Romans, Sir Samuel has dealt as usual soberly and judiciously, rejecting both ultra-Germanic explanations and the tendencious doctrines invented to justify the Revolution. From his pages we gain a remarkably clear picture of the conditions of life for every class during that strange period of transition; the organisation of the kingdom, the lives of the common people, counts, dukes, and clergy, the condition of the towns (which, as Sir Samuel points out, probably gained by the break-down of the oppressive curial system), the Jews and Syrians and their trade, and particularly the vivid religious life of the age.

The subject is treated under three aspects, to each of which a book is devoted—the historical, the social, and the ecclesiastical. It is in this sub-division that the want of final recension by the author is most keenly felt. The historical portion could have been made shorter and clearer, and would have been greatly improved by the inclusion of a genealogical table, a list of dates, and a map. The Merovingian house is proverbially difficult to follow in its ramifications, and the various sub-divisions of the realm are bewildering in their complexity, especially as historical atlases tend to pass them by with silent contempt. The narrative is diffuse, and reference to a briefer history of the period is frequently necessary in order to achieve a clear idea of sequence. The remaining books are much more satisfactory, except for the fact that they contain abundant repetitions, each chapter having apparently been written for itself and at widely-separated intervals. These repetitions make the book a sort of mosaic with recurrent pattern; there are about ten great stories of which each chapter has a fresh fragment but reiterates much already told. However, it cannot be denied that the stories are highly interesting and worthy of repetition.

The narrative ends rather abruptly with the end of Gregory's *History*, unfortunately just at the point when Irish missionaries were beginning to appear in Gaul. For this reason St. Columbanus is only mentioned incidentally twice (his name does not appear in the index); and the period following on Brunhilde's death in 614, which saw the rise of the Mayors of the Palace, is left out of account. We thus get little idea from the book of development, or of any change in the Roman character of Gaul. But the period treated is in itself a sufficiently interesting one, its early part marked

by the forcible character of the great conqueror Clovis, its later by the titanic feud of these two grim queens, Fredegunde and Brunhilde, to whose Klytaemnestra-like qualities Sir Samuel does full justice.Beside these there are a crowd of characters ranging from the stern ascetic to the bloodstained libertine in the true fashion of the age: St. Rémi himself, Bishops Nicetius, Gregory, and Brunhilde's opponent Egidius, the survivals of Roman military tradition Mummolus and Desiderius, the odd King Guntram, and the monsters of perfidy Guntram Boso and Leudastes; not to speak of a gallery of lesser characters, whose vivid traits we owe to Gregory's apologetic pen and Herodotean literary gift. Altogether the book makes up in sustained interest what accident has deprived it of in arrangement, and is certain to take its place as the standard English work on a little-known if fascinating period. M. T.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE PROPHET OF CARMEL. By Most Rev. P. E. Magennis, Ord. Carm. Dublin: Gill. 1925. 12s. 6d. net. xx+416 pages.

THE WHITE FRIARS. By Rev. P. R. McCaffrey, Ord. Carm. Dublin: Gill. 1926. 15s. net. xx+507 pages.

ELIAS the Thesbite, the great prophet raised up by God to rebuke and punish the faithless Achab, is one of the most striking characters in Scriptural story. He appears suddenly, utters his ominous warnings, works his astounding wonders, and disappears miraculously, to reappear in opposition to Antichrist before the destruction of the world. There is something of epic grandeur in the Biblical narrative of his words and works. From the beginning of monasticism the monks looked upon him as the model of religious austerity and fearless zeal for the glory of God. Dr. Magennis, General of the Carmelites, has described the life of this great servant of God with filial enthusiasm and much learning. Basing himself on the inspired words of Holy Writ as interpreted by the best commentators, he utilizes the results of modern investigators, and where all these fail he draws cautiously and sparingly on the many traditions current among Jews, Christians and Mahommedans. In this way we get a better idea of the great prophet and a deeper insight into the workings of the human heart, as it seeks in varying circumstances of time, race, and religion to penetrate the veil that shrouds the future.

Dr. Magennis regrets that "the various phases of human action which the Oriental mind can grasp in all their meaning should be incomprehensible to the Western mind with its slow

mode of thought and its sluggish imagination," but the implied self-depreciation is unmerited, for this Life of Elias lacks neither Oriental imagery nor glowing faith. This may be due, as the author suggests, to long continued contemplation of the biblical facts narrated of the prophet, his patron in religion, or perhaps to a certain natural kinship between the Celtic and the Oriental minds. The invocation of Elias by St. Patrick in his dream after his escape from captivity is cited as illustrating the cult of Elias in the West. Many other appropriate passages might have been found in Irish apocalyptic literature, and such tracts as *Fís Adamnáin* and *Dá Brón Flatha Nimhe* would have formed for Irish readers a fitting appendix to a book that instructs, encourages, and elevates.

Father McCaffrey supplements Dr. Magennis's work by giving us an outline of the history of the Carmelite Order down to our own times. He starts far back and revives the old controversy of Carmelite origins without adding anything new. He reveals his attitude towards historical criticism when he says: "We are satisfied that the facts altogether outweigh the wholly unfounded and gratuitous assertions of Baronius, Papebroch, and the modern opponents of our claim to a great antiquity" (p. 15). After that, students of history will know what they have to expect. We do not say that the study of these masterpieces of historical criticism would have made Fr. McCaffrey change his opinions, but they would at least have taught him the need of precision in the use of terms and have warned him that conclusions deduced from ambiguous premises are uncertain.

He deals next with the history of the Order in England, the most flourishing province in the Middle Ages (pp. 111-343), Ireland (pp. 343-459), and Scotland (pp. 460-486). The facts have been gathered together with great industry, and though they are not as abundant as we should desire, the collection will be a great help to historians.

The Carmelites came to Ireland in the second half of the thirteenth century and settled down for the most part among the foreign colonists. They were thus cut off from the literary culture of the Irish, and little record remains even of their spiritual activity. When Henry VIII suppressed religious houses the Carmelites surrendered their convents quietly, and practically disappeared for a century.

Passing over mistakes in spelling and dating, we shall mention now a few of the more important errors. Eugene mac Brehon (Brechan), judging by his name, must have been an Irishman

and not an Englishman; at any rate the See to which he was appointed on 21 Nov. 1541 was not Ross (p. 395), but Mayo. At p. 410 we are surprised to read that Sir James Ware was an "eminent Irish Catholic antiquarian." Accepting, in part at least, the forgeries of Robert Ware, Fr. McCaffrey identifies against contemporary authorities Malachy O Molony, bishop of Kilmacduagh, with a supposed Carmelite friar Malachy O Malone. Why the Carmelite Order should desire to claim either is not clear. Sir John Perrot describes how Bishop O Molony appeared before him at Galway and acknowledged the Queen's Supremacy. For this he is accused by Fr. McCaffrey of "deliberate falsehood," because "the recantation alleged therein was supposed to have been made in St. Stephen's Church in Galway at the very time that Malachy O Malone was actually a close prisoner of the government in Dublin." (p. 411).

When this argument first appeared some fifteen years ago in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record" (1912–13), the Rev. William O'Kennedy had no difficulty in pointing out its inaccuracy in several details, and if the question were studied in its broader aspects, his refutation could easily be corrected and developed. On the other hand Perrot's graphic description of bishop O'Molony's recantation in "the Cathedral Church of Galway" is consistent and *prima facie* quite straightforward. It contains nothing that can not be paralleled in the history of those times; and the clear and explicit testimony of an eyewitness like Sir John Perrot can not be upset by fanciful theories derived from the forgeries of a fanatic who lived a hundred years after the event.

John MacErlean.

Philosophy

LA SCHOLASTIQUE ET LE THOMISME. Par Louis Rougier. Paris: [Gauthier-Villars]. 1925. Pp. xliii+812. 90 fr.

This elaborate work purports to deal with the Scholastic treatment of the problem of the relation of reason and faith. The structure of the work shows clearly, however, that this problem was an afterthought. Of the 800 pages, approximately 500 are concerned with a special question, which is treated in monographic fashion—viz., the question of the distinction between essence and existence. In an earlier book, *Les Paralogismes du Rationalisme*, the author mentions an unpublished work, *Histoire de la distinction réelle de l'essence et de l'existence d'Aristote à Suarez.* In the present work we have, evidently, this monograph, enclosed in the setting of the wider problem of the relation of reason and faith. This adaptation of the earlier work is artificial;

and in spite of all the author's attempts to steer it into its new position, it maintains its separate character. It is, also, distinguished from the rest of the book by its more scholarly manner. Any philosophical interest and value that the work as a whole has comes to it from its treatment of the development of this particular problem. The remaining sections of the book, giving surveys of the general problem of science and faith, of the development of dogmas, of Bible criticism, etc., are, by comparison, sketchy, and give a one-sided and distorted picture, characterised by a decided bias against the Christian view.

The problem of the distinction of essence and existence must have interested the author deeply, and he has gone with great patience and detail into the wide field of literature bearing on it. He treats at length of Aristotle's attitude; and follows out the problem in the Hellenic Neo-Platonists, in Boetius and his commentators, in the earlier Scholastic precursors of St. Thomas, in the Arabian Neo-Platonists, and in the Arabian and Jewish Peripatetics. The position of St. Thomas is treated in great detail; his arguments for a real distinction of essence and existence, drawn from the *De ente et essentia*, from the *Totius logicae Summa* (which, though not by St. Thomas, is taken as faithfully representing his view), and from the larger works, are expounded *in extenso*, as well as the application of the doctrine to theological questions. After bringing out the intrinsic difficulties of the Thomistic view, he passes on to the various anti-Thomist schools. A very substantial and interesting treatment is given of the Quodlibetal discussions on the problem in the thirteenth century. A special chapter is given to Duns Scotus; in view of recent Franciscan studies, of which the author does not seem to be aware, his account of the theological positions of Scotus cannot be taken as reliable. His treatment of Occam and his followers is brief and disappointing. A lengthy chapter is devoted to Suarez, followed by a brief survey of the controversy in recent times.

Out of this elaborate discussion, in which the author shows himself well versed in Scholastic technique, he next proceeds to forge a great wedge with which to disrupt the whole structure of Thomism. For this purpose it is vital for him to show that the doctrine of a real distinction is essential for Theology. He outdoes, accordingly, the most ardent Thomists in his anxiety to prove that nothing but a real distinction can safeguard the explanation of dogma. He quotes with gratification leading Dominican theologians who assert that this is a fundamental proposition of Christian truth; and cites the various encyclicals referring to Thomism, and other recent authoritative pronouncements, to show that the *magisterium ecclesiae* favours the Thomist solution.

Having satisfied himself that the doctrine of real distinction is fundamental in the Scholastic defence of faith, he concentrates

all his armoury of skilled dialectic in attacking this doctrine, showing that it is foreign to Aristotle and breaks up the whole economy of his system, that it is full of intrinsic difficulties, that it is unintelligible except from the point of view of a " realist mentality " now out of date.

This attack, notwithstanding its confident tone and its imposing display of erudition and close argumentation, is singularly inconclusive. To begin with, it is *prima facie* improbable that such grave issues should hang on the decision of a controversy which has always been regarded as domestic, and as a free question. Even in view of the recent ecclesiastical pronouncements, it is by no means admitted by the Suaresian theologians that the question is at all closed. One would be surprised if the controversy did not continue to flourish. Whatever be the merits of Suarez' view on this question, the meagre demonstration attempted here of its inadequacy in regard to theological issues does poor justice to its complexity and subtlety.

That the real distinction of essence and existence is not in Aristotle has been held by Mandonnet and other Thomists. One cannot say, either, that any new point has been made by the author in his discussion of the intrinsic difficulties of the Thomist view; nor was this to be expected in the case of a theory which had already been subjected by so many to such searching criticism. His deepest complaint against Thomism is that it is built on a foundation of Realism. In expounding the principles of Realism he gives them, perhaps unwittingly, a subjectivist turn which is quite foreign to the Scholastic point of view. No one would recognise Scholastic Realism in such a principle as this: " To every distinct notion in the mind there corresponds adequately outside the mind an objective reality which contains formally all that is included in the definition of this notion." It is by giving such subjectivist renderings of Scholastic principles and arguments that he is able to perform the dialectical trick of convicting the Thomistic arguments to the existence of God from contingence and from motion, of the " ontological " fallacy.

His own philosophical position is a radical nominalism and relativism. His sense of the strength of this position seems to be derived from the feeling of being borne along on a great philosophic wave with such company as Poincaré and Bergson. This wave is local and may pass, while it is significant that in recent years the most striking development has been the springing up in several countries of a fresh crop of Realisms. Even the recent developments in science have contributed to give a stimulus to Realist metaphysics.

J. SHINE.

S. THOMAE AQUINATIS DE ENTE ET ESSENTIA OPUSCULUM. Edidit Ludovicus Baur. (Opuscula et textus historiam Ecclesiae eiusque vitam atque doctrinam illustrantia. Series scholastica et mystica curantibus M. Grabmann et F. Pelster, fasc. 1). Mñnster: Aschendorff. 1926. 60 pp. M. 1.20.

LE "DE ENTE ET ESSENTIA" DE S. THOMAS D'AQUIN. Texte établi d'après les manuscrits parisiens. Introduction, Notes et Etudes historiques. Par M.-D. Roland-Gosselin, O.P. (Bibliothèque Thomiste VIII). Le Saulchoir, Kain (Belgique). 1926. Pp. xxx+220. 25 fr.

THE appearance at the same time of these two critical editions of the *De ente et essentia* affords an illustration of the intensive study which is at present being applied to the writings of St. Thomas. Both editions are, as we should expect, works of expert scholarship. They differ from each other in minor points; but comparison of their text with that of previously published editions shows that the latter contained many errors. Dr. Baur's text is based on eight manuscripts of the 13th and the early 14th centuries at Basle, Bonn, and Rome. The small dimensions of this volume and its neat spacing make it a very convenient edition for students. Besides a brief introduction, dealing mainly with the manuscripts, and an elaborate apparatus criticus, there are footnotes indicating where the references in the text to previous philosophers may be verified.

Dr. Roland-Gosselin's much larger volume gives in addition to the text, which is based on the Paris manuscripts, an introduction and commentary, and two lengthy studies on the principle of individuation and on the real distinction of essence and existence. These are all strictly historical in scope, his purpose being to show how St. Thomas's thought developed and what factors influenced it. The introduction, besides giving a useful summary, discusses the date and purpose of the *opusculum*. While agreeing that its immediate aim was the refutation of the theory of Avicebron, he argues that the work was planned on broader lines, and was intended to outline the fundamental notions of St. Thomas's philosophy. The important part assigned to the distinction of essence and existence is traced back, not so much to Neo-Platonist sources as to the doctrine of the Arabian philosophers, culminating in Avicenna, and further developed by William of Auvergne and Albert. St. Thomas, in making this doctrine his own, gave it greater precision, eliminated certain features of it, and expanded it in an original way. The

commentary at foot of each page cites in extenso the passages from earlier philosophers referred to in the text, and gives references to parallel passages in other works of St. Thomas as well as to discussions of similar problems by contemporary philosophers. Among the latter are interesting passages from an unpublished manuscript of Roger Bacon.

The essay on the principle of individuation surveys the history of this problem from Aristotle to St. Thomas. After showing that the origin of St. Thomas's theory and terminology is to be found in Avicenna, the author makes an important contribution to the history of the question in his skilful following out of the stages of evolution of St. Thomas's doctrine. The fact that in his earlier discussions in the Commentary on the Sentences he uses the expression *materia demonstrata* and only at a later stage substitutes *materia signata*, serves to fix the date of the *De ente et essentia*. The interesting problem is discussed, of the reasons why St. Thomas, after having definitely embodied in his theory of individuation the Averroist notion of "dimensio interminata," afterwards dropped it, and never mentions it in any of his writings from the *Contra Gentiles* onward. There is also noted a stage of indecision as to the relative parts played by matter and "quantitas dimensiva" in individuation.

The second historical study, on the real distinction of essence and existence, is less comprehensive in scope than the work of Rougier above noticed, its purpose being to show what influences led up to St. Thomas's view. It is, however, as far as it goes, more solidly based on sources than Rougier's account, and corrects the latter at certain points. J. SHINE.

Politics

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF SOME GREAT THINKERS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. London: Harrap. 1925. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS book consists of a series of lectures delivered at King's College, University of London, by a number of distinguished scholars. A similar volume on "Great Mediaeval Thinkers" has already appeared. The merits and defects of this method of composition are obvious. Whilst diversity of authorship gives us a pleasing variety of opinion, a certain lack of unity and concentration is inevitable. The editor, indeed, tries to bring the threads together in an introductory lecture on "The Renaissance and the Reformation," but this is the least satisfactory

part of the book. Dealing with so immense a subject within the limits of a single lecture Dr. Hearnshaw is driven to indulge in wide generalisations. These generalisations, unsupported by any detailed evidence, are frequently disputable and seldom related to the lectures that follow.

Some of Dr. Hearnshaw's opinions are very surprising. He attacks mediaeval painting (p. 20) with unnecessary bitterness, and on grounds which are not very convincing. He seems here to limit the mediaeval period in a somewhat arbitrary fashion since it includes neither Cimabue nor Giotto. The previous volume on "mediaeval" thinkers had included such writers as Marsilio and Wycliffe. Again we are told (pp. 16-17) that "in the fifteenth century the Church had completed its pioneer educative work, and its rule had in its turn become an obstacle to the further development of the Western intellect. Thus the Renaissance may be regarded as the movement which marked the termination of the tutelage of the Teuton and his embarkation upon an independent and perilous career of unguided and unfettered speculation."

We have heard most of this before. But a view of the Renaissance which seems to exclude Italy, France and Spain from its perilous privileges cannot be accepted as an obiter dictum. Nor is one greatly impressed by the opinion (p. 21) that St. Francis of Assisi was "by instinct a heretic, and kept within the obedience of the Church only by his own extraordinary peacefulness and humility, and by the unusual wisdom and forbearance of Pope Innocent III." This loose type of writing is inexcusable in a work which aims at scientific accuracy. No one is or can be "by instinct a heretic." And all Catholics, in varying degrees, are "kept within the obedience of the Church" by, among other causes, their "peacefulness and humility."

Apart from these vague generalisations, there are instances of positive error. Thus we are informed on pages 14-15 :—

> St. Thomas Aquinas and his school had continued to assert the unity of knowledge, and to contend that all newly discovered truth of every sort could be reconciled with revelation. Duns Scotus and his followers had felt constrained to divide truth into two compartments, putting on one side that which man by means of his reason is capable of perceiving and comprehending, but putting on the other side that which is sealed save to the eye of faith. This unsatisfactory dualism, although it enabled some amazing intellectual gymnastics to be accomplished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was manifestly impermanent : it was a mere temporary expedient to enable sceptics to escape combustion.

One may venture to suggest that this display of rhetorical fireworks would be more convincing if the writer had some direct acquaintance with the writings of St. Thomas and Duns Scotus. The suggested contrast between these great writers is altogether

inept. That a distinguished scholar can so completely misconceive their theories on the relation of faith and knowledge, shows the unsatisfactory condition in which mediaeval studies in England still linger. No continental scholar of eminence would be likely, at the present time, to fall into elementary errors of this type.

The opening essay, however, is not representative, and the book will be found to repay careful reading both by the student of political ideas and by the ordinary reader. Not that the "political ideas" of the eminent men chosen as subjects of these lectures are in all cases of importance. Erasmus, to take a striking instance, was most careful to avoid expressing any opinion on what seemed to him a perilous topic, and Professor Thomson is reduced to dealing with his spirit and temper. There is more of social and political theory in Nicolas of Cusa—upon whom Mr, E. F. Jacob contributes an admirable lecture—but his interests were more centred in problems of ecclesiastical government. Again the political theories of Luther can be discovered for the most part only by implication. Prof. Allen's lecture on Luther is the best short account of this subject with which I am acquainted. It is a refreshing change from the vague nonsense with which most of the text-books are encumbered.

There is a delightful lecture on Sir Thomas More by Mr A. W. Reed. More is the ideal Catholic scholar of the Renaissance, and no one can catch the spirit of the subject more perfectly than Mr. Reed has done. He does not labour More's social and political theories, but he gives a charming sketch of his relations with his family and friends. It is pleasant to escape from such portentous personages as Luther, Calvin and Machiavelli into the company of a genuine Catholic humanist. D. O'Keefe.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF SOME GREAT THINKERS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. London: Harrap. 1926. 7s. 6d. net.

The political writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tend to be so voluminous that the method of single lectures has difficulty in dealing with them adequately. Professor Allen is compelled, as a consequence, to limit his treatment of Bodin to the single problem of sovereignty—the problem usually associated with his name. Archdeacon Lilley may be said to have dipped into the writings of Suarez, not altogether unprofitably, although he quite misconceives the medieval conception of the Jus Gentium (p. 96), and repeats the customary (but quite erroneous) view that, for Suarez, organised society, like property, had its origin in man's fallen estate and would not exist under the action of

the Natural Law. He also fails to realise that the general theories of Suarez are not invented to meet the particular problems of the age, as is so usual with political theories. They are merely a restatement of the dominant view of the Middle Ages, as developed by St. Thomas Aquinas.

King James I can scarcely claim to be a "great thinker." His importance for political theory is historical rather than doctrinal, and Miss Chew gives us an admirable account of the circumstances which contributed to the growth of his views on the divine character of monarchy. Her attitude towards James's oath of allegiance (1606) seems somewhat ambiguous.

The Editor contributes a general introduction on the social and political problems of the period as well as a lecture on Grotius. The introduction is more successful than that of the previous volume, but it lacks in a marked degree the scientific detachment that one might expect from a historical scholar. Professor Hearnshaw is occasionally flippant, as when he suggests that, in France, at one period, "if a citizen changed his religion he had no longer to send for the undertaker, but merely for the furniture-remover." When he deals with abstract theory he becomes at times quite unintelligible. In a lengthy disquisition on the difference between scientific and juristic law he accuses a whole series of distinguished writers, and in particular Grotius, of failing to realise the nature of this distinction. His indignation is misplaced and even amusing. For it is quite evident (p. 147) that he himself completely misapprehends the very obvious account which Grotius gives of the Natural Law. His views are at times rather insular. "The thinkers and statesmen of the seventeenth century" who found "stronger and better grounds" for toleration were John Milton, Oliver Cromwell and John Locke!

We are informed in one passage that:—

> Unless we realise that this political conception of religion was the one which dominated Tudor England, we shall misjudge such persons as the Vicar of Bray, or William Cecil, or even Elizabeth herself. Cecil, for example, conformed to most possible forms of worship—Anglican, Zwinglian, Lutheran, Calvinistic, Catholic—during the course of his respectable career; but he did so without any suspicion that he was laying himself open to an accusation of inconsistency (p. 24).

Cecil may have been peculiarly dense, although I cannot conceive how Professor Hearnshaw knows it, but one would like to put in a good word for the Vicar of Bray.

It is quite ludicrous, again, to lump together Henry VIII, Philip II of Spain and Louis XIV as upholders of "the royal supremacy" (p. 35). Can Professor Hearnshaw genuinely believe

that Henry VIII and Philip II stood for the same theory of the royal supremacy ? This instance is typical. Professor Hearnshaw is beset with a fatal faculty of generalisation. All the finer shades of thought, the distinctions and conceptions which separate men inevitably and finally, seem to escape him. He has developed a picturesque and sweeping style of writing which is not merely a constant irritant, but which is unsuited to the expression of the truth. D. O'KEEFE.

Miscellaneous

LES PHENOMENES PHYSIQUES DE LA MEDIUMNITE. Par Dr. Albert de Schrenck-Notzing. Préface du Professeur Charles Richet, with many illustrations, traduit de l'Allemand. Paris : Payot. 1925. pp. xvi, 342. 25 francs.

He must be a very resolute sceptic who is not at least shaken in his unbelief by the evidence here presented for the reality of parapsychic phenomena. We call them " parapsychic," because they really have nothing to do with spiritualism, and because this term, preferred by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing and his German friends, seems most appropriate and likely to prevail in the end. We are far from saying that the experiences recounted here and occurring through the mediumship of the late Eusapia Palladino, Stanislawa Tomczyk, Stanislawa P., Willy Schneider, Madame Marie S., and Einar Nielsen, set the matter at rest for good and all ; but they do afford very important confirmation of the same author's previous researches, conducted mainly with Marthe Béraud (*alias* Eva C.) and published, with remarkable photographs, in his book *Materialisationsphänomene.*

Here again the flash-light photographs representing masses of ectoplasm—sometimes issuing from the medium's mouth and penetrating the gauze veil hanging before it, sometimes apparently detached from her person and taking the rude form of embryo hands—or again the spectacle of small objects floating in the air under the mediumistic influence of Miss Tomczyk, are very striking. No one, we think, will question Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing's good faith ; and his experiments were conducted in the presence of a considerable variety of distinguished scientific assistants who are equally above suspicion of any sort of confederacy with imposture. Given the rigorous control exercised, which extended to a medical examination of the medium's person conducted with a thoroughness which cannot be described here, and also to the insistence upon a complete change of garments and the assuming of a dress in which she was sewn up with seals affixed, it seems absolutely impossible to assign any contrivance by which the white material which the photographs show, could have been introduced into the seance room.

However, so long as these phenomena have to be observed in almost pitchy darkness; so long as the rare flash-light photographs are taken only at the moment selected, or at least permitted, by the medium; so long as the unexplained movements are concerned mainly with relatively small objects, which are believed to be out of the medium's reach, but only by a matter of inches; so long as the ectoplasm photographed bears a close resemblance either to masses of cotton-wool or to sheets of woven tissue, there will always be room for doubt. Moreover, Dr. von Schrenck's experiences do not pass unchallenged among the psychic researchers, or "occultists," of his own country. Just as Frank Podmore, Lord Rayleigh, and to take a still living representative of this school—Mrs. Henry Sidgwick—could never be brought to the point of admitting that the proof of materialisation was conclusive, though certainly no one would suggest that they were not fully acquainted with the evidence, so in modern Germany, where latterly these studies have been taken up with immense enthusiasm, there is a party, represented most prominently by the contributors to the newly-founded *Zeitschrift für kritischen Okkultismus*, who in more senses of the phrase than one, still demand "more light."

Nevertheless the present writer while fully agreeing that a final judgment must be reserved, finds it difficult to believe that Willy Schneider, Stanislawa P., Miss Tomczyk and other young mediums in their teens, could all be such accomplished prestidigitateurs as to baffle experienced observers (including first-rate amateur conjurors, like Mr. Harry Price) who were quite well acquainted with medium's tricks and were certainly not predisposed to over credulity. HERBERT THURSTON.

THE PSALTER IN LIFE WORSHIP AND HISTORY. By Adam C. Welch, D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1926. 5*s.* net.

THIS brief work on the Psalms by a highly competent biblical scholar is intended not so much for the general public nor yet for the specialist, but rather for the student of Scripture. It consists of four lectures (subsequently somewhat amplified) originally delivered at the Vacation School for Old Testament Study in King's College Hostel, London. Dr. Welch studies the mind of the writers of the Psalms and in particular their attitude towards nature, history, worship, and the inner life. His conclusions are of considerable interest and value.

The first lecture develops the idea, not of course a new one, but here freshly and suggestively treated, that the Hebrew saw in all the phenomena of nature the immediate action of God and believed that that action always had a definite purpose in relation to man. In the second lecture the psalmist's belief in

the ceaseless overruling of Divine Providence is shown in its application to historical events and especially to the history of the Chosen People. Dealing in the third lecture with the original use of the Psalms in Hebrew worship, he shows that though the Psalter is "largely a collection of cult-hymns which were intended for the use of individuals or of the community, but which were originally associated with a definite act of the cult" (p. 67), nevertheless, as regards the *content* of the Psalms, "the Psalter is remarkably acultic. The side of religion on which it dwells is not the ceremonial but the moral and spiritual elements" (p. 59).

This thesis is further developed in the fourth lecture, in which the author endeavours to account for the very wonderful fact that "a series of hymns composed for worshippers in the most sharply defined and separate community in the old world has become a religious classic in a much wider world, and expresses for those who employ it the most intimate relations between the soul and God." He finds that it is the prophetic element with which the Psalms are saturated that has rendered them detachable from the cult and available for all time as a book of devotion. The book is the work of one who is at once a cultured scholar and a sincere believer, and if at times somewhat speculative, most of the views put forward are sound. S. J. B.

Shorter Notices

A PRIMER OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY. By Rev. Henry Keane, S.J., M.A. Oxford: Catholic Social Guild. 1926. 2s. 6d.

We expected this little book to be, what text books usually are, unsatisfactory. We found it, in fact, to be almost perfect in its kind—clear, concise, pleasantly written, and simple. The author does not go into the minutiæ of ethics, nor does he expound and criticise at any length the theories of opponents. He glances now and again at the English Utilitarians, at Kant and William James, but it is only a glance. He is concerned with explaining the leading ethical principles of Catholic philosophy—the content of Happiness, the meaning of the Good, of Duty, of Law, of Obligation; the validity and force of Moral Criteria; the Family, the State, and so on. There is a chapter on Socialism which is, perhaps, not as good as the rest of the book, though excellent observations are to be found in it; and a passing reference to the burning topic of Birth Control. In the main, the author does not discuss cases; he confines himself to the explanation of principles.

His method is to go from the known to the unknown, a method which he applies with singular skill. In fact the book, from this point of view, is a model of pedagogy. At the end of each chapter the author proposes four or five questions on the matter he has just discussed.

Altogether a book to be highly recommended to Catholic study circles, and to those who are in any way interested in the Catholic Theory of Morals. Priests will find it useful; and Professors of Ethics could read it with marked profit on account of its lucidity and simplicity.

J. E. C.

FORTIFYING YOUTH: OR RELIGION IN INTELLECT AND WILL. By a Christian Brother. Dublin: Gill. 1926. 4s.
THE ART OF COMMUNING WITH GOD. By a Christian Brother. Dublin: Gill. 1926. 3s. 6d.

The Irish Christian Brothers have been for years the spiritual guides in whom thousands of Irish boys have learnt to trust. Their collective experience is unique in this country. *Fortfying Youth*—the book which they have just published as a guide to "the formation of Christian character"—challenges careful study. "Religion in Intellect and Will," their chosen sub-title, exactly describes the book—half of which goes to plain instruction in Catholic truth, half to lessons in self-control and self-denial. One obvious misconception must first be removed. Part I.—"Religion in Intellect" must not be read as a text-book of Christian apologetics: it is not meant to be a systematic statement of Catholic doctrine. Perhaps it would be best to describe this part of the book as a challenge to that plain, manly, courageous faith which we have learnt to expect from the pupils of the Brothers. The aim has been apparently to select certain aspects of Catholic teaching which have special value in the work of "fortifying youth." Some of the chapters are admirable: the whole section on miracles, for example, and much of what is given under the heading "Religion and Science." But there is a real danger in these short summaries of facts and arguments. A good case over-stated is made seem weaker than it really is: as an example I quote the comparative tables of believers and unbelievers given on p. 123. Other sections have been unduly compressed: the section on the New Testament, for example, and on Infallibility. These are important topics, which need fuller and clearer treatment: the use of concrete examples, so telling in some of the other sections, might have been used more fully here. And the chapter on Socialism is disappointing. Socialist ideals make a strong appeal in this country: what we want is a clear distinction between Marxian or materialist Socialism and the intense, but most Christian sense of social injustice which is often denounced as Socialism in Ireland.

But criticisms are easily made. The author of this book has attempted a very difficult task and his success on the main issue is undoubted. To fortify Catholic youth we must bring the truths of Catholic faith into direct contact with our daily lives. That is the main purpose of this handbook, and the work was well worth doing. Each section gives a selection of books for further reading on the subject, and the selection is everywhere admirable. In the concluding section—"Religion and Will"—the same practical spirit is felt everywhere. Prayer (including mental prayer), frequent Communion, devotion to Our Lady, good and bad habits, reading, social work, vocations: these are the principal topics, and Catholic teaching is put clearly and vigorously. There are also useful sections on certain obvious dangers: drink, betting, lying, mixed marriages, religious indifference. I miss a chapter on frequent confession, and it is hard to see why a chapter on Christian purity has been excluded. That is not an easy subject to discuss; but nowhere else can truth well-put bring so much help.

Side by side with this book on Catholic education comes a book on mental prayer. The sub-title proclaims it "a short treatise for beginners in the spiritual life," and the author disclaims all originality in the Preface. But many will welcome the book just because the author has been content to restate sound Catholic teaching in plain language. Beginners feel the need of plain, sound instruction and advice in their many difficulties. That is just what this book offers them and it is good to think that teachers who have themselves been so well taught are to-day ready to do the work of guiding Irish boys in the first ways of mental prayer.

A. G.

THE INQUISITION. From the Establishment to the great Schism. By A. L. Maycock. With an Introduction by Father Ronald Knox. London: Constable. 1926. 12s. 6d. net.

FRENCH Catholics have the advantage of us in apologetics: their literature of defence is plentiful and very good. For all practical purposes Vacandard's book on the Inquisition is as good a statement of the facts from a Catholic point of view as could be desired; but it is in French, and has never been translated into English. Mr. Maycock has thus an open field, and his book is doubly welcome. Following Vacandard's example he is content with a clear, painstaking statement of the facts. There is no attempt at original research, since the book is written for the average layman, not for the serious student of history; but the three chapters on the establishment of the Inquisition and the remaining five chapters on the Inquisition in action will help to dispel a world of illusions. So also will Father Knox's six pages of introduction with their clear analysis of the Protestant point of view. A. G.

ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE. By Hugh Law. Dublin: Talbot Press, 1926. 6/- net.

IN his preface to this highly interesting book the author asks: "What exactly is Anglo-Irish literature?" and he goes on to say that "we are, it seems, not less eager to withdraw Irish citizenship in one direction than to extend it in another." Mr. Law will not yield up to England such names as Swift, Sheridan, or Goldsmith. He claims Burke and Grattan; and, coming to our own day, he demands recognition as Anglo-Irish writers for Yeats and Shaw. Mr George Russell, following with a Foreword, asserts that it is right for every new State at its birth that "every memory of its people should be evoked which may inspire pride and confidence." It may be that there are some—how many it would be hard to say—who will contest these propositions, but one fancies that to the majority of Irishmen they will appear quite reasonable. The author quotes also the well-known dictum of Thomas Davis on Irish nationality: "It must contain and represent the races of Ireland. It must not be Celtic—it must not be Saxon—it must be Irish."

In a review of Mr. Law's book there is no need, nor, indeed, any occasion to argue this matter. The author accomplishes admirably the work he has set out to do. From Jonathan Swift to Sean O'Casey he considers all the notable contributors to Anglo-Irish literature, and for the most part speaks in praise of all of them. One is glad to find Mangan receiving due recogtion, but there is no mention of Denis Florence McCarthy, author of "*Waiting for the May.*" Among other remarkable omissions are D. P. Moran's *Philosophy of Irish Ireland* and Arthur Clery's *Dublin Essays*. He includes orators as well, and in the chapter devoted to these quotes freely from Tom Kettle's Introduction to *Irish Orators and Oratory,* one of the best essays Kettle has written. Novelists, historians, dramatists, poets, those who lived and wrote in Ireland as well as those he terms "the Exiles," all are brought to notice, and Mr. Law's comments on them are shrewd and instructive.

He holds, it may be submitted, too low an opinion of the estimation in which Shaw stands in the minds of his fellow-countrymen. It is true that there is amongst us a certain number of those persons whom G.B.S. annoys in all countries, but that distinguished writer aims at annoying people of this type. People whose admiration is worth having admire Shaw as much in Ireland as in the land of his adoption.

In defence of his action in devoting most of his space to the men of a bygone day, such as Berkeley and Burke, he pleads, *inter alia*, that these are

authors who are nowadays rather revered than read, and that the literary history of the last quarter of a century has already been written by Mr. Ernest Boyd. Yet readers of this book—like the reviewer of it—will, for all that, probably derive more enjoyment from the chapter on "Dramatists" (which deals mostly with our own day) and the chapter on "The last twenty-five years," than from those dealing with the mighty, but alas! musty, men of far-off times.

Mr. Law has written a very readable book. He has not, as he admits, told us anything new; but he has fulfilled his purpose in supplying a serviceable guide-book to Anglo-Irish literature. W. D.

Books also received:

AGNEL, ARNAUD D' ... Saint Vincent de Paul. Guide du Prêtre. (Téqui, 10 fr.).

AMANIEU, A. ... ... Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique. Fascicule II. Affaires ecclésiastiques—Anathème. (Letouzey et Ané, 12 fr.).

[ANONYMOUS] ... ... Sister of Mercy's Daily Round. (Gill, 2/-).

ARNOU, ANDRE ... La Morale des Affaires. (Editions Spes, 4 fr.).

ATTERIDGE, HELEN ... At the Sign of the Silver Cup. (Kenedy, $1.50).

BALL, F. ELRINGTON ... The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921. (Murray, 32/-).

BESLIER, G. G. ... L'Apôtre du Congo. Mgr. Augouard. (La Vraie France, 12 fr.).

BESSE, L. DE ... ... Light on Mount Carmel. A Guide to the Works of S. John of the Cross. (Burns, O. W., 2/6).

BOLTON, HERBERT ... Palou's Historical Memoirs of New California. Four vols. (University of California Press).

BON, DR. HENRI ... Laënnec. (Dijon: "Lumière," 3 fr.).

BOYD, CHARLES C. ... Grammar for Grown-ups. (Allen & Unwin, 3/-).

BRIZON, PIERRE ... Histoire du Travail et des Travailleurs. (Bruxelles: L'Eglantine, 12 fr.).

BRUN, HENRI ... ... Catéchisme du Citoyen d'après les enseignements pontificaux. (Aubanel Fils Ainé, 10 fr.).

BUTLER, ABBOT ... Western Mysticism. Second ed. with 86 pages of new matter. (Constable, 12/-).

BUZY, REV. D. ... Life of Sister Mary of Jesus Crucified. Translated by A. M. O'Sullivan, O.S.B. (Sands, 5/-).

CARPENTER, J. ESTLIN ... The Johannine Writings. A Study of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel. (Constable, 30/-).

CHRISTOPHER, JOSEPH P. S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi de Catechizandis Rudibus Liber Unus. Translated, with Introduction and Commentary. (Brookland: Catholic Education Press, $3).

COURS, THERESE M. DE ... Entre Chair et Croix. Poèmes. (Aubaniel Fils Ainé, 12 fr.).

CURTIS, EDMUND ... Richard II. in Ireland and Submissions of Irish Chiefs. (Clarendon Press, 15*s.* net.).

DAVIS, HENRY ... Birth Control. (Burns, O. W., 1/-).

DECOUT, A. ... ... De la Vocation d'Ecrivain Chrétien. (Beauchesne, 12 fr.).

DE SMET, AL ... ... Tractatus Theologico-Canonicus de Sponsalibus et Matrimonio. (Bruges: Beyaert, 12/10).

DE SMET, LAURENT ... Suffering. Its Meaning and Value. (Sands, 3/6).

DRECHSEL, MAX ... Le Traité de Versailles et le Mécanisme des Conventions internationales du Travail. (Bruxelles: L'Eglantine, 10 fr.).

EARLS, MICHAEL ... Under the College Towers. (Macmillan, $1.50).

ELLIOTT, WALTER ... Mission Sermons. (Washington: Apostolic Mission Ho., $3.50).

FEIGE, CHANOINE P. ... Rejouissez-vous dans le Seigneur. (Téqui, 6 fr.).

FLYNN, PAUL J. ... The Galtees and the Golden Vein. (Hodges, Figgis, 21/-).

FORBES, F. A. ... Meditations on the Litany of Our Lady from the Doctors and the Fathers of the Church. (Longmans. 1/6).

GARESCHE, EDW. F. ... Training for Life. (Kenedy, $1.75).

GENY, PAULUS ... Critica de Cognitionis humanae Valore Disquisitio. Ed. nova. (Universitas Gregoriana).

GILSON ET THERY ... Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age. (Vrin, 40 fr.).

GLEESON, JOHN ... Cashel of the Kings. A History of the Ancient Capital of Munster from its foundation to the present day. (Duffy, 10/6).

GOYAU, GEORGES ... Monseigneur Augouard. (Plon, 10 fr.).

HARROWER, RACHEL B.... A New Theory of Dante's Matelda. (Cambridge University Press, 2/6).

HENDERSON, BERNARD W. The Great War between Athens and Sparta. (Macmillan, 18/-).

HORTON, WALTER M. ... The Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain. (New York University Press, pp. 339).

HULL, ERNEST R. ... Bombay Mission History. With a Special Study of the Padroado Question. (Bombay: Examiner Press, 6/-).

LAIS, ROBERT ... ... Auf der Spur des Urmenschen. (Herder, M. 3.50).

LANIER, HENRI ... La Vie d'Oraison d'après S. Frangois de Sales. (Téqui, 1 fr. 50).

LEIBELL, J. F. ... Readings in Ethics. (Loyola University Press, pp. 1210).

LINHARDT, ROBERT ... Brennender Dornbusch. Vorträge zur Lebensgestaltung im Geist des Evangeliums. (Herder, M. 3).

LITTLE, A. G. ... ... Some recently discovered Franciscan Documents and their Relations to the second Life by Celano and the *Speculum Perfectionis*. (Milford, 3/-).

MCKEOUGH, MICHAEL J. The Meaning of the Rationes Seminales in St. Augustine. (Washington, pp. 128).

MARCHAL, VICTOR ... Coeur à Coeur avec le Bon Dieu. (Téqui, 5 fr.).

MASSERON, ALEX. ... Saint Antonin, 1389-1459. (Gabalda, 5 fr.).

MILLOT, J. ... ... Plans de Sermons de Retraites. (Téqui, 10 fr.).

MOCQUEREAU, ANDRE ... Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican, publiés en fac-similés phototypiques Juillet 1926. No. 122. (Desclée, 75 fr. par an.).

MOHR, HEINRICH ... Das Himmelreich auf Erden. (Herder, M. 3.50).

MOREAU, EDOUARD DE ... S. Amand. Apôtre de la Belgique. (Museum Lessianum, 25 fr.).

NOLAN, DOM PATRICK ... A Monetary History of Ireland. (King, 5/-).

O'BOYLE, CANON ... The Eucharistic Congress, 1926. (Browne & Nolan, 4/6).

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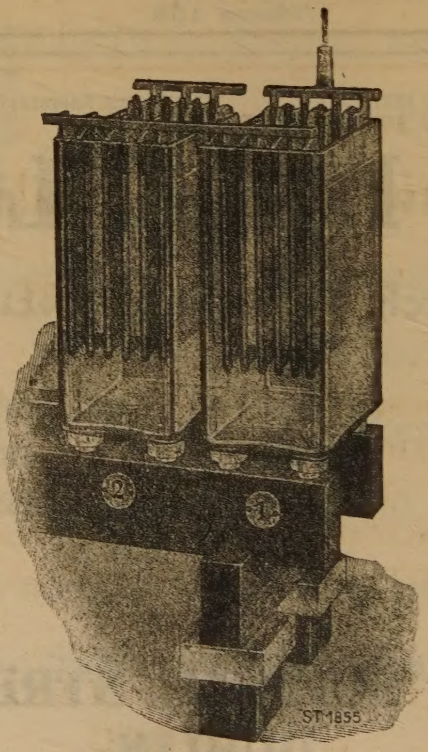

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